AN

ESSAY

ON THE

Comparative Efficiency

OF

Regulation or Abolition,

AS APPLIED TO THE

SLAVE TRADE.

SHEWING

THAT THE LATTER ONLY CAN REMOVE THE EVILS TO BE FOUND IN THAT COMMERCE.

By the Rev. T. CLARKSON, M. A.

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TO

SIR WILLIAM DOLBEN, BART.

ONE OF THE

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

FOR THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

SIR,

THOUGH there are many Gentlemen, whoſe zeal and activity in the cauſe of freedom intitles them to every tribute of reſpect, yet I am ſure, that, if I were to conſult them in the preſent caſe, they would all join in determining, that this little work ought to be inſcribed to you, as the mover of the firſt bill ever brought into Parliament for the purpoſe of reſtricting the bounds of the Slave Trade.

To you then, SIR, I take the liberty of addreſſing it, ſenſible that my conduct in ſo doing will be approved of by many, while it will be the means of conveying to you, as I ſincerely intend it ſhould, a teſtimony of my own eſteem.

I have the Honour to be, SIR, with real Reſpect,

Your ſincere and obedient Servant,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

London,
June 4th, 1789.

ANSWER

TO A

LETTER

FROM A

FRIEND.

DEAR SIR,

I AM obliged to you for the information you convey to me, that the Merchants of Liverpool are preparing a bill, not a bill of mere theory and ſpeculation, ſuch as lately appeared, but a bill, from local knowledge and experience, to obviate every reaſonable complaint, and eſtabliſh every neceſſary regulation in the African trade. This news is of a very pleaſing kind. It is, I ſay, of a very pleaſing kind, becauſe it affords a proof, that the ſlave merchants acknowledge abuſes or evils which they denied before,

In conſequence of the information you have given me, it is my intention almoſt immediately to ſit down and anticipate

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anticipate the bill you mention. It is my intention to ſtate what are the evils in the Slave Trade, of what nature the ſaid bill ought to be to remove them, and what the Advocates for Humanity will expect to find it. Now, Sir, the evils, which you will ſee enumerated when I publiſh my work, either exiſt or they do not. If they exiſt, the ſlave merchants ſhould certainly join with us in attempting to cure them. If they do not, they can have no objection to the paſſing of moſt of the clauſes which I propoſe; for in this caſe they will only be tied down by law to do what they are now actually doing *of themſelves*, and this can be no hardſhip.

With reſpect to the *French Bounty*, which you wiſh me to explain, and the *threats* of the ſlave merchants to go to Havre de Grace, and other parts, on which you wiſh my opinion, I ſhould certainly have written fully, but that the bounty is now under conſideration in France, and that the French Court will undoubtedly take ſuch ſteps, as will render your fears totally unneceſſary upon that ſubject.

I perfectly coincide with you in your ideas of *Compenſation:* for what is the planter to be compenſated for? You are not interfering with his property. You are not emancipating his ſlaves. You are on the other hand increaſing his property by increaſing the value of his ſlaves, and you are increaſing the ſecurity of the annuitant and mortgagee at the ſame time. There are many eſtates in the iſlands, which already ſupport themſelves without any ſupplies from Africa. Moſt of thoſe, which do not, could, if but another importation were allowed them. But if the abolition were to take place to-morrow, there would be an hundred veſſels or more either on their way to the coaſt, or upon the coaſt, or on their way to the colonies. Now, if the planters were to purchaſe the whole of the ſlaves that would be brought them by theſe, and not ſuffer *two-thirds* of them to be carried as before to the French iſlands for ſale, they might *immediately* procure as many as they have been accuſtomed

cuſtomed to purchaſe in three years. It is therefore idle to think that they would be hurt by the abolition of the ſlave trade. It is the adventurer only that would ſuffer:—and what then? Has any act of legiſlation ever taken place, but ſome one or another has ſuffered by it? And after all, who would ſuffer moſt—the two or three individuals of this deſcription, or thoſe, who would be torn from their connexions in Africa to ſupply their wants?

I ſhall add upon this ſubject, that if the planters ſhould look for *compenſation*, there will be two irreſiſtible claims upon them. For Africa may certainly demand a compenſation for the miſeries it has experienced on their account; and the numerous widows and orphans of ſeamen deſtroyed in the ſlave trade may call upon them for maintenance and ſupport.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

THERE are two data, which it will be neceſſary to eſtabliſh, before I proceed on my preſent work. It is probable, however, that one of them will not be granted without a proof. I am therefore ready to prove it, and to furniſh my proof from the mouths of the enemies of our cauſe, for aſſent will much leſs reluctantly follow, if I uſe a poſition of their own, than if I were to attempt to eſtabliſh the ſame in another way.

In the courſe of the examination of the Liverpool Delegates at the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, relative to a Bill "for providing certain temporary Regulations "reſpecting the Tranſportation of the Natives of Africa "to the Weſt Indies, and elſewhere," the following * aſſertions came out.

Mr. PIGGOT, Counſel for the Merchants of Liverpool.

"I ſhall call evidence to prove, that, ſuppoſing the "intended filling up of the blank to be but *one man* to "*one ton*, it will operate as a virtual abolition of the "trade."

* See Minutes of the Evidence, &c.

Mr.

Mr. NORRIS, one of the Delegates, called.

" If one negro only were allowed to one ton, there " would be no profit."

Mr. MATHEWS, the ſecond called.

	£.	s.	d.
" In a ſhip of one hundred tons, if two men and an half were allowed to a ton, the profit would be - -	761	5	6
" If two to a ton - - - - - - - - -	180	3	6
" If one man and half, the *loſs* would be -	206	19	9
" If one man - - - - - - - - - -	590	1	0

" In ſhort, if there be a reſtriction of tonnage *under* " *two to a ton*, the trade would be *as effectually ſtopped*, as " if a law were paſſed for its abolition."

Mr. DALZIEL, the third called.

" If the reſtriction takes place, the trade cannot be " attended with that profit which perſons engaged in it " expect. The trade is *already on the decline*, and *a* " *very ſmall reſtriction* will help it on."

Mr. PENNY, the fourth called.

" If *leſs than two* full grown ſlaves, or three ſmall boys " and girls, under four feet four inches, to be deemed " equal to two, are allowed to a ton, the trade cannot be " carried on with advantage:—and if the blank of the " bill be filled *with one to a ton*, or *even one and an half to* " *a ton*, it will *tend to the abolition of the trade*."

Mr.

Mr. TARLETON, the fifth called.

" I am *authorized by the Merchants of Liverpool* to ſay, " that *leſs than two ſlaves per ton* (and it perfectly coincides " with my opinion) *would totally aboliſh the African ſlave* " *trade.*"

The firſt of the data then, which I wiſh to eſtabliſh, is this, that if *only one is allowed to be carried to a ton*, the ſlave trade will fall of courſe.

The ſecond is, that in proportion as the expenſes attending any trade are increaſed, or its profits leſſened, there is a tendency towards the abolition of ſuch a trade. This is obvious to common ſenſe.

ESSAY

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ON THE

EFFICIENCY,

OF

Regulation or Abolition,

AS APPLIED TO THE

SLAVE TRADE.

CHAP. I.

THAT the Slave-trade contains unavoidably in its own nature, (and ſtill more ſo according to the preſent mode of conducting it,) *a complication of evils*, is a poſition, which, I truſt, that none but ſlave-merchants will deny. Such then I immediately conſider as having no kind of connexion with the preſent work, for not judging it either an evil in itſelf, or productive of evils, any *ſolid or ſubſtantial* regulation (and this I have farther reaſon to ſuppoſe from their conduct during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament) will be equally oppoſed by them, as its abolition. I addreſs myſelf then to ſuch, as have ſome feeling; as have a common notion of right and wrong; as have a wiſh to curtail the miſeries of human life; as are *virtuous* politi-

cians: and to every individual of this deſcription in the community, of every rank whatſoever, I addreſs the following pages.

From the above preliminary, it may be taken for granted, that *all* thoſe, to whoſe peruſal my work is now ſubmitted, muſt allow that there are evils in the ſlave trade. There are, however, among theſe, three deſcriptions of perſons, according as they are better or leſs informed. Some of them reaſon thus: "We are at preſent of opinion, as far as we have had opportunities of gaining any information on this ſubject, that regulations may be deviſed, which will effectually remove the evils complained of: but if ſuch can actually be deviſed (and we heartily wiſh them adopted) why totally ſtop the trade?" There are others again, who differ in opinion from the former, and who think that any regulations, under which the trade can be put, will be inefficient, and that the abolition of it only will anſwer the purpoſed end. There are others again, who, though ſenſible of the evil, are, for want of information, in doubt concerning the beſt method of proceeding in the caſe.

It is my intention then, in the preſent eſſay, to offer to the three deſcriptions of people now mentioned, ſuch looſe hints, as have occurred to me, while I have been reflecting upon this queſtion, and ſuch as, being probably new, and throwing new light upon it, may induce thoſe who have already formed an opinion, either more ſtrongly to retain or reject the ſame, and may induce the doubtful to take a decided part.

For this purpoſe I ſhall enumerate what are actually the *evils* in the ſlave trade. I ſhall then ſuppoſe two bills to be brought into parliament for the removal of thoſe evils, the one ſo conſtructed, as either immediately, or in a courſe of time, to effect its abolition; the other, comprizing its regulation only. Each of theſe bills I ſhall then apply to each of the evils complained of, and ſee whether either of them, or which of them, is likely to effect

effect a cure. If only one of them ſhould be found on inquiry to be effectual, then the queſtion would be determined. If both of them, then that would be preferable, which would anſwer the purpoſe beſt.

But before I proceed, I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that if any bill ſhould appear, either from the merchants of Liverpool, or from any other quarter, that does not allow all the evils, here to be mentioned, to exiſt; and that does not take notice of them, and propoſe a remedy for them all, ſuch a bill will be looked upon by the oppoſers of the ſlave trade, as frivolous and inefficient; as holding out an appearance only, without the ſubſtance of relief; and they will therefore conſider themſelves at liberty ſtill to perſevere with unwearied induſtry, till that full and ample redreſs is obtained, which the cauſe requires.

CHAP. II.

Three diviſions are to be made of the evils, that exiſt in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade. The firſt includes ſuch as are felt by the *objects* of that trade. The ſecond, ſuch as are experienced by *thoſe who are employed* in it. The third may be ſaid to include a complication of evils, in as much as the ſlave trade prevents the introduction of *many ſorts of good*.

SECT. I.

In the firſt diviſion of evils are comprehended *three*, according as we conſider the natives of Africa or the *objects* of the trade, in their three ſeveral ſituations, namely, while in their *own country*, while on the *middle paſſage*, and while in *the Colonies*. With this diviſion I ſhall begin. I ſhall take each of the evils included in it in the order now mentioned. I ſhall ſhew in what they conſiſt, and, then applying to them the two bills of regu-

lation and abolition reſpectively, ſee which of them is the moſt likely to effect a cure.

The *firſt* ſpecifick evil then, experienced by the Africans *in their own country*, in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade, may be ſeen from the following accounts, which are given to the publick in the ſame order in which they were communicated to me during ſome late inquiries.

ACCOUNT the FIRST.

Taken from the Journal of the relator on this Subject.

" Goree, Oct. 17th 1787. On making inquiries to " day, relative to the hiſtory of a certain negroe woman, " I found that ſhe came from the country about Cape " Rouge, and that in the abſence of her huſband ſhe had " been ſtolen and forcibly dragged away. Her caſe was " attended with this additional circumſtance of cruelty, " that ſhe was torn from her children, who, being too " young to undergo the fatigue of the journey, were left " behind."

" Oct. 19th 1787. Inquiring to day of a negroe lad, " how he came into the ſituation of a ſlave, he informed " me, that he had been ſtolen from his parents, in the in- " terior country above Cape Rouge: that the inhabitants " of the ſhore uſually came up in bodies for this purpoſe, " and that they unfortunately met with him, and brought " him to Goree, in company with others, whom they had " taken in the ſame manner."

" Joal, Nov. 5th 1787. Since our arrival here, the " king of Barbaſin has twice ſent out his military to at- " tack his own villages in the night. They have been " very unſucceſsful, having taken but three children. " They had no better fortune laſt night, having brought " in but one girl."

" Nov. 6th 1787.

" Nov. 6th 1787. The military returned to day a " little before noon, bringing with them a negroe, whom " they took at a little diſtance from Joal. He was drag- " ged between two of the military on horſeback, and de- " livered to the crowd that were aſſembled before the gate " of the village of Joal. The latter, having drums, horns, " trumpets, and other inſtruments of horſe, conducted " him to the king. Theſe inſtruments are uſed on all " ſuch occaſions, to drown the cries of the captive ne- " groes."

" Nov. 7th 1787. The king promiſed to day, that he " would divide his military to-morrow, into more parties " than before, and that he would ſet them upon ſeveral " villages at once, and aſſured the embaſſy, that he could " not fail of receiving a ſufficient number of negroes to " diſcharge his debts, as well as to return for the preſents " brought him."

" Nov. 8th 1787. This day, according to his pro- " miſe, a freſh pillage was to commence. Having taken " the reſolution of leaving Joal, we were of courſe unac- " quainted with the reſult of it. The mulatto merchants " however, of Goree, ſtaid behind, determining not to " leave the king till he had ſatisfied their demands."

" Goree, Nov. 9th 1787. Soon after our return to " Goree, Martin, a mulatto merchant, arrived with his " ſloop from Sallum, bringing 27 negroes, principally " women and children. The king of Sallum had obtain- " ed them during Martin's ſtay with him, in the ſame " manner as the king of Barbaſin, while we reſided at " Joal.—This is the common practice at Sallum."

" Nov. 23d 1787. By information received to day " from a merchant, the practice of pillaging, in order to " get ſlaves, extends as far as Gallàm."

" Dec. 3d 1787. A merchant bought to day a young " negroe woman, for 80 bars, who had been kidnapped or " ſtolen near the village of Ambaròu."

" Dec. 6th 1787. A young negroe from the village " of Rupſk, was purchaſed to day, who was brought down " from Dakárd. He was on a viſit at the latter place, " when the chief, incited by a merchant from Goree, ob- " tained the conſent of the inhabitants, and treacherouſly, " as well as forcibly, ſeized him, and ſold him for a ſlave."

" Fort St. Louis in the River Senegal, Dec. 12th 1787. " The Moors, in conſequence of their preſents from the " French, have juſt begun their incurſions. They have " fallen by ſurprize on the king of Dalmammy's ſubjects. " They have ſent in *fifty* already, and about *one hundred* " more, taken about four days ago, in the ſame piratical " manner, are expected every moment."

" Jan. 16th 1788. Several negroes were brought in " to day by the Moors, who had, without any provoca- " tion, attacked their villages in the night, and taken " them. One of them was dreadfully mangled: his arms " and ſhoulders were almoſt cut to pieces, ſo that his life " is deſpaired of."

" The above accounts, ſays the gentleman who furniſhed me with them, are taken from my journal, written during my tour to Africa. I put them down among other occurrences, more for employment than any other purpoſe. Had I known that any nation of Europe would have done themſelves the honour of agitating the ſubject of the ſlave trade, with a view to its abolition, I would have been more particular, and I ſhould have been enabled to have compleated, by ſpecifick inſtances, a moſt melancholy catalogue of human woe: what I have given you, rely upon, and I will be ready on all occaſions, *either in publick or private*, to appear to the truth of them, as well as to aſſert (as far as my own obſervations have gone, and I have been informed by others) that almoſt all the negroes that are ſhipped from thoſe parts of the coaſt which I have viſited, are procured by treachery and ſurprize."

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT the SECOND.

" While my veſſel lay between the iſland of Goree and " the village of Dakàrd on the oppoſite continent, I had " an opportunity of ſeeing the method by which ſlaves in " thoſe parts were generally procured. Scarce a night " paſſed, but the inhabitants of the village juſt mentioned, " went out for the purpoſe of making ſlaves. They went " uſually from ten to fifteen in a party. They had all " of them their war-dreſſes on, and they were accuſtomed " to ſally forth a little before dark. I have frequently " been in their huts the next day, and have ſeen two ne- " groes faſtened together by their backs, the produce of " the excurſion made the preceding night."

" I once expreſſed a wiſh, while lying in the place now " mentioned, to get a volunteer for my ſhip. In conſe- " quence of it, a party from Dakàrd, totally without my " knowledge, went to a neighbouring village, and ſtole a " man. They brought him on board, but, as I did not " chooſe to encourage ſuch depredations, I refuſed to keep " him."

" From my ſtation at Goree, I proceeded to the River " Gambia, where I was unfortunate enough to expreſs the " ſame wiſh as before. A young lad was accordingly " brought down to me for inſpection. He had a baſket " of onions upon his head. I diſapproved of him, and he " went away. I was informed afterwards that he had " been ſeduced to the water's edge, under pretence of " bringing his vegetables to a good market, and that if I " had approved of him, he would have been ſold to me."

" Finding by the two inſtances now recited, that I " might innocently become the means of tearing ſome " unoffending people from their connexions, and of put- " ting them to conſiderable pain, I reſolved to make no " farther declaration of my wants, but to go immediately " to the merchants or factors, and buy one for his Majeſ-

" ty's ſervice, who had already been procured. I accord-
" ingly bought a young lad, in the ſame river, of about the
" age of twelve. This lad came with me home, but died
" afterwards at Sheerneſs. As ſoon as he could be un-
" derſtood, he informed me of his hiſtory. He told me
" that the village in which he lived, was attacked by rob-
" bers in the night; that the robbers came to his father's
" hut; that his father was killed in oppoſing them; that
" his mother ſhared the ſame fate, but that he was taken;
" and that in the morning he found himſelf in a croud of
" captives, all of them taken from the ſame village, and
" in the ſame manner."

ACCOUNT the THIRD.

" I was three years reſident on the coaſt of Africa, end-
" ing in 1788. It was my buſineſs to collect ſlaves. I
" had, of courſe, often an opportunity of knowing in what
" way they were obtained.

" Several of them are ſtolen. For inſtance, while I
" reſided about the River Riopongos, a trader came down
" from the inland country with ſlaves. I accordingly
" purchaſed them. I told him that ſlaves were much
" wanted. He went out with his party, and kidnapped
" three. Having procured theſe for us immediately, he
" returned with his people home, that he might bring
" down more.

" The Bullams frequently made expeditions, and, with-
" out any other motive than that of getting money, attack
" their neighbours in the night. The Timmaneys are
" perhaps, from the greater frequency of the cuſtom, more
" notorious than the former. They go out in large par-
" ties at duſk. They ruſh with violence into the huts of
" thoſe they intend to fall upon, and each ſelects his man.

" There are other ways of procuring ſlaves. But it
" may be ſafely ſaid, that every little occurrence is made
" ſubſervient

" ſubſervient to the ſlave trade, and that the genius is rack-
" ed to find out pretences to obtain the perſons of men.
" I will give you one inſtance out of many. A certain
" negroe on the River Riopongos, pretended that his an-
" ceſtors had had a grudge againſt the anceſtors of another
" negroe then reſident there, who had a wife and ſix child-
" ren. He accordingly went to the king, communicated
" to him the nature of the grudge, and promiſed to give
" him a certain number of bars, if he would adjudge the
" whole family to ſlavery, in conſideration of the treſpaſs
" or fault originally committed by his anceſtor. The
" king immediately accuſed the man, (for without an ac-
" cuſation he could not have ſold him there) and he with his
" family were condemned and delivered up to the perſon who
" had bribed him. This perſon afterwards ſold the whole
" family to me. I thought no crime in purchaſing them
" at the time. We never refuſe to purchaſe any, how-
" ever unjuſtly we know them to have been taken."

ACCOUNT the FOURTH.

" There are various ways of getting ſlaves. Witch-
" craft has no inconſiderable ſhare in procuring them.
" A great man pretends to be under its influence, and
" accuſes one who has a large family, knowing, that by
" the conviction of the parent, he will often, according
" to the laws of the country, be enabled to ſell the whole.
" No poor man, on the other hand, is allowed to have
" theſe ſenſations, and he is of courſe incapable of accu-
" ſing any on that account. It is a method uſed by the
" great to procure ſlaves, or in other words, to gratify
" their own avaricious wants; and to the ſlave trade
" alone is to be attributed its continuance. Hundreds of
" innocent people have been conſigned to miſery by this
" method.

" Robbery is another conſiderable ſource of ſupplying
" the ſlave trade: every man in Africa goes armed. I
" ſay this from an experience of many years. His reaſon
" is,

" is, that he may not only defend himſelf from the wild " beaſts, but from the ſudden incurſions of lurking " robbers.

" I once ſaw an expedition from Kikbal. Thirteen of " the natives, with a deſperate man at their head, got into " a canoe. At duſk they went up the river Sama, and " as the night was farther advanced, attacked a village. " One or two of the inhabitants, who had juſt time to " arm themſelves when they heard the noiſe, fired upon " them as they were making a conſiderable ſweep. Their " leader inſtantly fell. This threw the reſt into ſuch con- " ſternation, that they fled with precipitation to their " canoe, and had only time to bring off a man and a " woman.

" At another time I purchaſed thirty-three ſlaves, all " of whom had been taken in an expedition made from the " Turtle Iſlands up the River Sherbro the preceding " night. The ſlave trade is a very inhuman trade, and I " left it to embark in one in the natural productions of " Africa. I returned from my laſt voyage but at the " latter end of the year 1788."

ACCOUNT the FIFTH.

" I had two opportunities of ſeeing how ſlaves were " procured in the River of Old Calabar. I reſided with " the king of New Town for four months, and he allowed " me to go up the river with him to trade for ſlaves. I " went with him twice within that time. In the firſt ex- " pedition, there was a fleet conſiſting of from ten to " twelve canoes, which were properly manned and armed. " With this fleet we ſet out to trade. In the day time " we called at the villages as we paſſed, and purchaſed our " ſlaves fairly; but in the night we made ſeveral excur- " ſions on the banks of the river. The canoes were uſu- " ally left with an armed force: the reſt, when landed, " broke into the villages, and, ruſhing into the huts of the

" inhabitants,

" inhabitants, ſeized men, women, and children promiſcu-
" ouſly. We obtained about fifty negroes in this man-
" ner, in our firſt expedition.

" In our ſecond, the ſame practices were in force; for
" we traded fairly by day, and became robbers in the
" night. We were more ſucceſsful, in point of the num-
" ber procured in the ſecond, than in the firſt expedition."

ACCOUNT the SIXTH.

" I was reſident for ſeven months at a factory in Moſ-
" ſula Bay, in the kingdom of Angola. I know of no
" other way of making ſlaves there, than by robbery.
" Our factory was ſupplied by four traders, one of whom,
" with his party, was always out. Theſe parties conſiſt-
" ed uſually of forty or fifty in number. They were al-
" ways armed when they went out. They *took no goods*
" with them, but yet returned with *ſlaves*. Their time
" of ſtaying out was ſometimes a month, and ſometimes
" leſs. It depended on circumſtances, for if in a previous
" expedition they had brought off a few from the ſkirts of
" a town, they were obliged to go much farther for the
" remainder the next. For the negroes, when ſo attack-
" ed, immediately leave their habitations, and go farther
" inland. They are continually in a wandering, uncer-
" tain ſtate, on account of theſe frequent depredations.

" In the year 1787, I was lying at Cape Palmas. I
" was told by the natives there, that they intended to at-
" tack a village on the third night. I aſked them if the
" inhabitants had done them any injury. They replied,
" no; but that there was a conſiderable number of fine
" ſtout young men belonging to it, who were *good for*
" *trade*. This was their only reaſon. On the ſame day,
" on the evening of which the attack was to commence,
" I had occaſion to go to another village, which was
" within about two miles from that which was marked
" for pillage, and lay in the ſame track. I ſlept at a tra-
" der's

" der's houſe that night. At about two in the morning " he awakened me to ſee the fire. I jumped up inſtantly " from a cheſt on which I lay, and ſaw the village in " flames. The next day more than fifty young men " were brought down, all of whom had been taken during " the conflagration.

" In the year 1788, I was in the River Gaboon. I " went to a village at about a mile's diſtance from the " river ſide. I happened to ſtay there till night, when I " requeſted the trader, (in whoſe hut I was) to conduct " me to another village, at the diſtance of half a mile " from the former. But no intreaties could avail; for he " aſſured me, that there were ſo many robbers always " lurking in the night to catch men, that it was dange- " rous to ſtir out after duſk."

It appears from the accounts now given, and it would appear more ſtrongly were I to communicate others of a ſimilar kind in my poſſeſſion, that a very conſiderable number of the natives of Africa are annually taken from their country and connexions by means of treachery and ſurpriſe, and that the ties of conſanguinity, love, and friendſhip, are violated in the proſecution of the trade. To deſcant but upon a ſingle inſtance of the kind muſt be productive of pain to the ear of ſenſibility and freedom. Conſider the ſenſations of the unhappy man, who is carried off by a ruffian that has been lurking to intercept him in the night. Separated from every thing which he eſteems in life, without the poſſibility of bidding his friends adieu, behold him overwhelmed in tears—wringing his hands in deſpair—looking back upon the ſpot in which all his hopes and wiſhes lay—while his family at home are waiting for him with anxiety and ſuſpenſe—are waiting, perhaps, for ſuſtenance—are agitated between hope and fear—till length of abſence confirm the latter, and they are immediately plunged into inconceivable miſery and diſtreſs.

This, and other inſtances of a ſimilar kind, are but ſo many inſtances of the *evils*, which I promiſed to enumerate,

rate, *as experienced by the Africans in their own country in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade.* That they are great and enormous evils, none of thoſe, to whom I have the honour to addreſs myſelf, will deny: nor will they heſitate inſtantly to pronounce, that they ought immediately to ceaſe.

This brings me to the point. The evils in queſtion, it is confeſſed, ought undoubtedly to ceaſe. I aſk how?—I am told that the event can be accompliſhed by means of the *Regulation* of the trade.

It muſt at once ſtrike every reaſonable perſon, that the regulation of the ſlave trade cannot be an efficient remedy for the evils complained of. Regulation implies *continuance* upon ſtated terms: and ſo *ſo long as the trade continues*, ſo long will there be temptations, and ſo long will the needy and avaricious embrace them, to obtain the perſons of men.

This inference is conſiſtent with common ſenſe, and but a ſlight knowledge of human nature: there can be no difficulty in ſuppoſing, that wherever there is a market for the human ſpecies, many enormities will be there practiſed to ſeize the ignorant and unwary. The maxim is as true in fact, as it is in ſpeculation. People formerly in the vicinity of Egypt and Cyprus, (which were the firſt known markets for ſlaves) as well as at a conſiderable diſtance round about theſe countries, were kidnapped to be carried there. It was ſo on the ſouthern coaſts of the Mediterranean, and in the Archipelago afterwards. It was ſo, in ſhort, through the whole of the ancient world. It is now the caſe in Madagaſcar, Arabia, and the Eaſt. Even in Great Britain a market is found for the human ſpecies, and people are fraudulently taken and conveyed to our Eaſtern colonies. The ſame market exiſts in Holland, and people are treacherouſly torn from their connexions, and ſent to Batavia. By the accounts before recited, ſome of which reach nearly to the cloſe of the year 1788, it appears, that the ſame practices are in force, in conſequence

ſequence of the market, on the coaſt of Africa. What unreaſonableneſs then is there in ſuppoſing, that if the ſlave trade ſhould ſtill continue to be proſecuted in that part of the world, thoſe enormities would not ceaſe?

So much on the general idea of regulation, as it firſt ſtrikes me. But I will be more particular. I will endeavour to realize what I firſt imagined. I will ſuppoſe a regulating bill, with ſpecifick clauſes, introduced into parliament, and I will apply it as a remedy for the evils mentioned.

There can be no difficulty in anticipating of what nature and operation ſuch a bill muſt unavoidably be. In the firſt place it can have no authority, and will of courſe be null and void, as far as it preſcribes or dictates to the Africans in their own country. Suppoſe it ſhould contain the following clauſes, "Be it henceforward inſerted and enacted in the African codes of law, that he that ſtealeth a man ſhall ſurely die. And be it farther enacted, that the prince, who depopulates a village, for the purpoſes of the ſlave trade, ſhall immediately, on conviction, forfeit his crown." How ridiculous would be ſuch a bill! It would contain the uſurpation only of a power, which we could not exerciſe, and of a right, which would never be acknowledged.

Let us ſee then what it is that we can do in the preſent caſe, and that we can do juſtly. We have moſt undoubtedly a right to refuſe to purchaſe, if we pleaſe, any of the commodities of Africa, or to purchaſe thoſe only that we pleaſe, and of what deſcription we pleaſe. This, I believe, is the ſum of all we have a right to do. If any regulation then is to be adopted to heal the evils complained of, it can conſiſt only in refuſing to purchaſe thoſe who are ſtolen, or are taken in an unjuſtifiable manner: for with the internal regulations of Africa we have no right, neither would the Africans ſuffer us, to intermeddle.

The regulating bill muſt be evidently then of the following kind. It might ſay, "And be it enacted from henceforward, that

that conſuls ſhall be ſent out to the Coaſt of Africa, to examine into the caſe of every ſlave, ſold to every ſubject of the Britiſh nation, with power (and under certain penalties if they ſhould fail to exerciſe that power) to interdict the purchaſe of every ſlave who ſhall appear to have been unlawfully or unjuſtly obtained." But alas! there are more than one hundred rivers on the coaſt, and many intermediate ſpaces between ſome of theſe, from which ſlaves are directly ſhipped. We muſt ſend therefore at leaſt an hundred conſuls to the coaſt of Africa, who ſhall be reſident there at the ſame time, or we muſt reſtrict the trade to ſuch narrow limits as would inſure its abolition.

But, not to mention the expenſe of ſuch an eſtabliſhment, and the great probability of the immediate introduction of bribery and corruption, how could the conſuls alluded to diſcharge their office? In the firſt place they would be ignorant of the language by which they could examine the ſlaves that would be brought down. To this it might be ſaid, "Let them apply to the black traders "who offer them for ſale." But I reply, that they might as well aſk a thief, to tell them if he had ſtolen, or any unjuſt man to reveal the myſteries and iniquities of the calling by which he lives. I reply further, that ſeveral of the ſlaves come from the diſtance of twelve hundred or a thouſand miles, with whoſe language the very traders themſelves are *totally unacquainted*.

To this I might add many other obſtacles, that preſent themſelves. In ſome of the rivers, more noted for the trade than others, fifteen hundred or two thouſand ſlaves are brought down in a day, one ſixtieth of whom could never be examined in the time. I might add alſo, that the black traders themſelves might refuſe to admit our conſuls to the examination of ſuch ſlaves as were in their own repoſitories or houſes, and the kings of Africa to ſuffer them to reſide among them at all.

Theſe then being inſurmountable objections, there might be ſome, who would wiſh to ſubſtitute the following

ing clauſe. " And be it enacted from henceforward, " that in every veſſel that ſails to the coaſt of Africa for " ſlaves, there ſhall be ſome officer who ſhall go out and " return with the ſaid veſſel, and give on his return a " certificate, upon oath, on the points hereafter to be " mentioned."

It is evident that one part of the objection to the former clauſe, namely (ſo far as the impracticability or non-permiſſion of reſidence is concerned) is done away by the laſt. But the others ſtill remain. The probability of the officer being bribed by the merchant at home, or by the trader upon the coaſt, or by the captain on the voyage, is an almoſt inſuperable obſtacle. The circumſtance of language is never to be gotten over. If a ſhip were alſo to wait for a cargo of people, none of whom had been unjuſtly reduced to ſlavery, ſhe would rot upon the coaſt, before ſhe would be able to complete it, her crew would be dead, and her merchant ruined. There are many other conſiderations, that would render a regulation impracticable, nugatory, and abſurd.

To recapitulate. Unleſs the Britiſh legiſlature can alter the paſſions and habits of men, and make human nature what it certainly is not; unleſs they have a perfect and acknowledged dominion over the Africans, can exerciſe ſuch dominion, and can alter the African codes of law at their own will: and unleſs additionally they can do things equally impoſſible with thoſe now ſtated, ſo long will the very beſt regulations that human wiſdom can deviſe, be totally inadequate to remove the evil, ſuſtained by the Africans in their own country, in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade. But what evil is this exiſting in Africa, that cannot be remedied by any act of foreign ſtates? It is an evil, of all others the moſt flagitious, and of greater magnitude than thoſe, which afterward occur, either in the proſecution of the trade, or in the colonial ſlavery. It is an evil, the parent and foundation of all other evils, by means of which every tie of love, conſanguinity,

guinity, and friendſhip, is torn aſunder, by means of which the peſtilential dungeon preſents itſelf afterwards on the paſſage, and the ſcourge and manacle in the land of ſlavery. It is that evil which firſt awakened the attention of the many benevolent oppoſers of the ſlave trade; which firſt rouzed them into action; and which will ſtill, I hope (unleſs effectually cured) be uniformly oppoſed by them for the remainder of their lives.

The greateſt then, and the moſt important of all the evils, which exiſt in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade, can never be eradicated by *any regulation* that can be deviſed. Let us ſee if *abolition* would anſwer the purpoſed end.

That *abolition* would be effectual, will be evident, if we only follow the clue of reaſoning already given to the reader, as far as it has been ſubmitted to his view. In the firſt place, it appeared that regulation would be inadequate to heal the evils complained of, becauſe, the *market ſtill continuing*, the ſame temptations would alſo neceſſarily continue, and the needy and avaricious would of courſe be ſtill ready to embrace them. On the abolition, on the other hand, thoſe articles of European traffick, which had hitherto ſeduced the minds of the natives, would ſtill act as *temptations* (not to make them go out and catch men, *for men would be no longer ſaleable*) but to ſpur them on to employ themſelves in another way; and the needy would be obliged to ſatisfy their wants, and the avaricious to gratify their appetites in another manner.

It appeared, ſecondly, that regulation would be inadequate, becauſe the Britiſh legiſlature could not enforce ſuch pains and penalties upon the violators of human liberty on the coaſt of Africa, as would deter them from the like practices again; but the abolition taking place, all ſuch pains and penalties would *be uſeleſs*. The unhappy natives were accuſtomed to be torn from their connexions, for the purpoſe of deriving an emolument from their *ſale*.

But the *ſale ceaſing*, the motives for ſuch depredations would periſh with it, and the evil, for the prevention of which ſuch pains and penalties would have been neceſſary, would alſo ceaſe.

It appeared, thirdly, that regulation would be inadequate, becauſe it would be morally impoſſible to examine moſt of the ſlaves that would be brought down, and to diſcover ſuch as had been taken by treachery and ſurprize. But the abolition taking place, or, in other words, men *being no longer to be ſold*, no more of them would be clandeſtinely taken, and an examination would be rendered unneceſſary and vain.

It appears then, that an *abolition* of the ſlave trade would have the deſired end, and that an abolition only would be effectual. It is probable, however, that the following objection may be made to what I have ſaid. "You ſeem to have been reaſoning on a ſuppoſition, that the reſt of the nations of Europe would concur with the Britiſh, and that the abolition would be *general*. But ſuppoſe it otherwiſe, then the trade would be ſtill purſued, and *not one leſs* of the inhabitants of Africa would be taken and ſent into ſlavery." This objection is a very favourite argument on the other ſide of the queſtion. I wiſh to be particular in expreſſing it. The term "*not* "*one leſs*," has been invariably uſed on the occaſion. I have heard it from the Weſt-India merchant repeatedly. I have heard it from the planter. I have heard it from the dealer in human fleſh. I have ſeen it in moſt of the publick prints, and I wiſh to record it as an inſtance of no little preſumption in thoſe who ſtarted, or thoſe who have uſed it, that they ſhould dare to hazard a calculation to the world, which they maintain to be accurate to an *unit*. To me, I confeſs, it will always be a matter of ſurprize, that they, who have never yet been accurate on any other point of the ſubject, ſhould have been ſo particularly accurate on this.

In combating the objection, I will meet it fairly, and I hope to be able to ſhew, even on a ſuppoſition that we ſtand alone, that *more than one* of the natives of Africa would be annually ſaved by the abolition, and that the evil would be conſiderably abated, if not ceaſe. In the term abolition, however, I include the three following particulars. 1ſt. That Britiſh ſhips and ſubjects be prohibited from employment in the ſlave trade. 2dly. That the reception of ſlaves into the Britiſh colonies be alſo prohibited. 3dly. That a new trade be immediately ſubſtituted on the coaſt of Africa, under the auſpices and protection of government. Theſe three particulars, if we ſhould ever aboliſh the ſlave trade, are, I preſume, inſeparably connected with one another.

In the firſt place I muſt premiſe, that the number of ſlaves ſhipped from the coaſt of Africa, is nearly the ſame in one year as in another in the time of peace, or that, in ſuch times, *there is in all years, with but little variation, the ſame regular demand.* To take one port for an example. The veſſels belonging to it were fitted out.

In a time of profound peace, and before the expectation and commencement of the American war, viz. in the years	1770 1771 1772 1773	for about	28,000 28,000 26,000 28,000 slaves
At a certain period of that war, viz. in the year	1779	for about	4,000 only
In a time of peace, and after the cloſe of that war, viz. in the years	1784 1785 1786 1787	for about	25,000 30,000 31,000 30,000 slaves

This ſtatement ſhews us, firſt, that war makes a very conſiderable difference in the number of ſlaves annually taken from the coaſt of Africa, but, ſecondly, (which is the point I wiſhed to be eſtabliſhed) that *this number is nearly the ſame in one year as in another, in the time of peace.* But if this be actually the caſe; if the number of ſlaves, ſhipped in peaceable times, or the whole general demand by the French, Danes, Dutch, Engliſh, and others, is nearly annually the ſame, then it is evident, if the Britiſh government prohibit the reception of any into their own colonies, or if, in other words, *their proportion* of the whole general demand ſhould ceaſe there, that many thouſand ſlaves, or *their proportionate ſhare of them*, would be annually ſaved from European tyranny by the introduction of ſuch a meaſure.

To ſhew this by a more ſpecifick explanation. Let us ſuppoſe that the whole annual demand amounts in the time of peace to about *one hundred thouſand* ſlaves, and that for the Britiſh colonies about *twenty thouſand* of theſe are wanted. Then it follows that *eighty thouſand* conſtitute the general annual demand for the reſt of the European ſettlements, and that their coloniſts, having gotten theſe, want no more. What then would be the conſequence, if ſlaves were refuſed admittance into the Britiſh colonies, but that *twenty thouſand*, and (if other circumſtances are included) more than *twenty thouſand* of the natives of Africa, would annually ceaſe to be brought down, and conſigned to ſlavery?

But ſays one, "it is not improbable but that ſhips "would be fitted out by the people of other nations, to "carry thoſe from the coaſt of Africa, which the Britiſh "formerly took." But—where would they carry them? The different European coloniſts having gotten their *eighty thouſand*, or their annual number, the reſt would be evidently ſuperfluous, and no purchaſers would be found. As a caſe in point, I will mention an inſtance that I ſee now lying upon my table. A certain veſſel touched at Barbadoes in the month of June, 1788. She offered her

ſlaves

ſlaves for ſale, but the Barbadians having gotten from other veſſels their uſual annual ſupply, there were *no planters to purchaſe them.* From Barbadoes ſhe proceeded to St. Vincent's, hoping to find a market in that iſland. But the ſituation of the inhabitants there was the ſame with thoſe of Barbadoes, and not *a ſingle ſlave could be ſold.* From St. Vincent's ſhe went to Grenada. But the Grenadians having alſo been previouſly ſupplied, *none of them could be taken there.* It happened, however, that a Dutch planter from Demerary came to Grenada at the ſame time. This perſon, not having yet received the number for which he had an annual demand, purchaſed and took them away to his own quarter. So it would be with the reſt of the Europeans conjointly, if the Britiſh government were, according to the ſenſe reſtricted, to ſtop the trade. For having gotten their eighty thouſand, or in other words, having compleated their general annual demand, and having made their remittances accordingly, the *twenty thouſand* formerly ſent to the Britiſh colonies, would be ſuperfluous, and for theſe no purchaſers would be found.

But, ſays another, " However reaſonable what you have ſaid may appear, it is at beſt but conjecture; for that foreign planters would not purchaſe thoſe whom the Britiſh formerly took, you cannot *poſitively* ſay." But I will meet this objector on his own terms. I will ſuppoſe, if poſſible, that foreign planters, having completed their number, would purchaſe more. What could be their inducement, or would follow, but that, the market being overdone by ſo prodigious a number as *twenty thouſand*, the price of ſlaves muſt inſtantly fall? But if it were to fall, and if moreover it were to fall to that ſtandard, to which according to the known fluctuations of commerce it inevitably muſt, it would be then ruinous to the merchant to purſue the trade, and things would return ſoon to their *former level.* This level would be the number eighty thouſand, or that of their general annual demand.

Conſidering then the abolition in that extent of its meaning only, which hinders the reception of ſlaves into the Britiſh colonies, it follows that *many more than one* would be ſaved, or ceaſe to be taken from their country by the enforcement of ſuch a meaſure; namely thoſe, in point of number, that were formerly landed there, thoſe alſo who were ſhipped with the former, but died in the middle paſſage; and thoſe additionally, who were killed in the depopulation of villages, or the ſkirmiſhes of parties to obtain them both. But if ſo many leſs would be brought from the coaſt, or deſtroyed than before, there would be ſo many more of the natives of Africa, by whom the evils exiſting in their own country in conſequence of the ſlave trade would not be felt.

Let us now go to the next idea, that is included in the term abolition, namely, *the ſubſtitution* among the natives of Africa of another trade. By the word ſubſtitution, however, muſt be clearly underſtood ſuch action or actions on our part, as ſhould induce the natives not only to *receive the new intercourſe* alluded to, but to *abandon the old*.

To ſubſtitute, in the ſenſe determined, with any effect, it would clearly become us to make a ſettlement upon the ſea coaſt, and on ſuch a part of it as would be moſt favourable to the deſign; I do not mean, as formerly, in a piratical and unjuſt manner, but by means of purchaſe and in an honourable way. It would become us alſo to go prepared for the purpoſe, for without the adoption of certain principles it would be in vain to hope for ſucceſs. Suppoſe then, that among others, we were to go with the three following determinations: — to give the natives all the encouragement in our power — to refuſe to purchaſe a ſlave, as well as to hinder all others from purchaſing within our own limits — and to propoſe and give an aſylum to all ſuch as ſhould either feel themſelves oppreſſed, or ſhould have an inclination to live amongſt us. — Theſe determinations would be ſo far from impeaching our equity, as to do us honour, and we have only to ſuppoſe them

them to be made, to eſtimate the probability of ſucceeding in the execution of our deſign.

That the natives of Africa then, on any particular diſtrict to be ſelected, would receive the new trade, if built on the baſis of *encouragement*, (which is the firſt principle mentioned) is evident, firſt, from reaſon, becauſe they have the ſame perceptions as other people, are as ſenſible of their own intereſt, and have an enterprizing and commercial ſpirit; and ſecondly, from experience, becauſe no new trade has been pointed out to them, on the ſame baſis, which they have not readily embraced.

That they would abandon the old, is deducible partly from the former paragraph, which concludes upon their reception of the new: for let us divide them into two claſſes, namely, into ſuch as trade in the human ſpecies, and ſuch as do not trade at all, but would be glad to embark in commerce, if they had the means of doing it; then it is evident, that by the introduction of the new trade on the one hand, and the reception of it on the other, ſome would be ſecured, others diverted, and others gained over from a connection with the old; and that every inſtance of addition to the one, and of diverſion and defection from the other, if *founded on encouragement*, would contribute to ſpread ſuch a flame of emulation, and to advance the point in ſuch a ratio, as to afford us the moſt ſanguine expectations.

But it is not encouragement alone, as inſuring the reception of the new trade, that would contribute to the dereliction to be hoped for. The Africans have been long uſed to our commodities, ſo much ſo, as not eaſily to be able to do without them. Their wants, at the time of eſtabliſhing the ſettlement, would be evidently as preſſing and urgent for their accuſtomary gratification as before, but this gratification, in conſequence of a cloſure of the avenues of the ſlave trade, could not be had as formerly. Driven then to conſiderable anxiety and pain, the refuſal to purchaſe a ſlave, and the excluſion of others from doing

it within our own limits, (which is the ſecond principle ſuppoſed) would contain in itſelf a ſting, which would operate like the ſting of neceſſity, to drive them into the completion of our deſign.

To ſee how the third principle would alſo operate, which would be the granting of an aſylum to all ſuch as ſhould either feel themſelves oppreſſed, or ſhould have an inclination to live among us, I ſhall anticipate an objection, which might otherwiſe have been made here, namely, that the kings in the vicinity of the ſettlement (for theſe are principally benefited by the ſlave trade) could, if they pleaſed, gratify their wants in the uſual way; that they could do this by ſending their ſubjects, or others, by means of new and circuitous paths, to ſuch more diſtant places upon the coaſt, where foreign veſſels were known to come, but where the juriſdiction of the ſettlement did not reach: and that, irritated by the ſtoppage of the trade, they would adopt the meaſure.

Not to dwell upon the *difficulty* of opening new paths, and forming new connections, (both of which are included in the idea of eſtabliſhing a new route) or upon *the length of time* it would take to do it, whilſt their wants would be calling for *immediate* gratification, or upon the *inſtant decreaſe in the value of the ſlave trade*, both on account of new taxes to be paid to the kings, through whoſe territories their ſlaves would be marched down, as well as on account of the loſs of them now and then by banditti, I will come immediately to the point. In Africa it is the *poor* man who is made the ſlave; who is accuſed of witchcraft, but who is ſuffered to have no ſuch ſenſations of his own by which he can accuſe another; who lives on account of the ſlave trade in perpetual anxiety and fear. In Africa it is, that a man is obliged to be conſtantly *armed*; that he has been taught from his infancy to prepare himſelf againſt the attempts of the robbers, who will be lurking to intercept his perſon, and to hurry it to ſale. What a dreadful ſituation is this for an human being to be placed in? A ſituation, night and day, of continual apprehenſion

prehenſion and alarm. What reaſonable being in ſuch a ſtate that would not even run the riſk of his life to eſcape to a ſettlement, the members of which had offered him perſonal ſecurity and freedom. The third principle then, by which an aſylum would be offered to all ſuch as either felt themſelves oppreſſed, or had an inclination to live among us, would operate two ways. It would operate either as a check upon the kings in the vicinity, to deter them from adopting the meaſure, or, in caſe of their adoption of it, to increaſe, by means of repeated defections, the number of the inhabitants of the ſettlement. In which-ever of theſe ways it operated, it would effectually anſwer the deſign.

If then we take into conſideration *the power of want*, to drive them with its irreſiſtible ſting to a particular point; if we take into conſideration alſo the *ſpur of encouragement* urging them on to the ſame goal, and the *prodigious and ineſtimable advantages* which the great bulk of the people in the vicinity of the ſettlement would derive from the change, it is evident, as far as common ſenſe can anticipate, that the end propoſed under the idea "ſubſtitution," would be obtained. But if the end were to be obtained, then it is equally clear that all thoſe, who were annually accuſtomed to be ſent into ſlavery from the vicinity of the ſettlement, would be ſaved from oppreſſion, and that there would be one ſpot in Africa, in which it could be ſaid, that the evils ſuſtained by the natives in their own country, in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade, were no more.

I have hitherto confined myſelf to a particular ſpot, which I conceived to be occupied by Britiſh coloniſts for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting another trade. But as the ſubject is of importance, and as ſomething elſe may be added, which is not wholly impertinent, I muſt treſpaſs a little longer on the time of my readers, to inquire what would be the effect of our relinquiſhing of the ſlave trade in ſuch other parts of the coaſt of Africa, upon which we ſhould have no influence, but upon which others would, by continuing to go for ſlaves.

My

My reaſoning on this topick ſhall be founded on a very favourite argument of the dealers in human fleſh, namely, "that *if the Britiſh aboliſhed the ſlave trade, the great "competition would ceaſe, and ſlaves would become cheap*;" by which they would have us underſtand, that we ſhould be giving an advantage to foreign nations.

To begin the inquiry. The ſlaves, who would come down to foreigners for ſale, would be evidently then, as now, of the three following deſcriptions, namely, ſuch as would come from the remote interior parts, ſuch as would come from the vicinity of the ſea ſhore, and ſuch as would come from the intermediate interior parts between them. With reſpect to thoſe of the firſt deſcription, no alteration could take place in their price. They would be to be brought from a prodigious diſtance, as before. They muſt be to be ſupported in travelling for many moons, which ſuſtenance or ſupport would coſt ſomething. They would alſo have to pay their tribute to each of the various petty kings, through whoſe territories they would be ſuffered to paſs. From theſe circumſtances therefore, as well as others that might be mentioned, they could not be ſold cheaper than at their preſent rate. But if the competition were to ceaſe, as it evidently would, and if the price of ſlaves were to fall, as the ſlave merchants ſtrenuouſly contend, and as I readily allow, nothing is more evident, than that ſlaves would ceaſe to be brought from the remote interior parts. But if it would not be worth the while of the reſpective parties to bring them from thence, then would ſo many be additionally ſaved, and then of courſe would the evils, experienced by the Africans in theſe inland parts in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade, ceaſe to continue there.

With reſpect to thoſe who would be reduced to ſlavery, either on, or in the vicinity of, the coaſt, the ſame argument will hold. For if ſlaves were to become cheaper, it would be leſs worth the while of the black traders to deal in the human ſpecies, or, on the other hand, more worth their while to trade in another way. But if this were the caſe

ceaſe either on, or in the vicinity of, the coaſt, much more would it be ſo in the interior intermediate parts, ſeveral places in which would be at ſuch a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, as to make the ſlaves, brought from thence, chargeable with a great proportion of the expenſes unavoidably attending thoſe of the firſt deſcription; ſo that in any ſpot we might ſelect, or in any with which we might afterwards have no connexion, our conduct in the abolition of the ſlave trade would have its influence.

To wind up the argument. It has appeared, firſt, that if the Engliſh were to hinder the reception of ſlaves into their own colonies (which is one of the ideas included in the abolition of the ſlave trade) many of the natives of Africa would annually ceaſe to be interrupted, or taken from their own country, namely, all ſuch (in point of number) as were formerly landed there; all ſuch as were ſhipped with theſe, but died on the coaſt or the middle paſſage; and all ſuch as were killed in the depopulation of villages, or the ſkirmiſhes of parties or individuals to obtain them both.

It has appeared ſecondly, that if the Engliſh were to endeavour to ſubſtitute another trade among the natives of the ſame continent (an idea which is alſo included in the term abolition) there would be one ſpot at leaſt, namely, in the vicinity of their ſettlement, from whence all thoſe (in point of number) would annually ceaſe to be taken, who were formerly ſent into ſlavery from that quarter.

It has appeared thirdly, from an argument conſtantly in uſe on the other ſide of the queſtion, that numbers would alſo annually ceaſe to be brought down from the inward parts, independently of the conſideration that it would be leſs worth the while of the traders of Africa, in any part of it whatever, to deal in the human ſpecies.

Now, if common ſenſe is allowed to arbitrate in the matter, no argument can be more falſe than that which ſtates, that if the Engliſh were to aboliſh the ſlave trade, and

and to aboliſh it alone, not one leſs of the natives of Africa would be taken and ſent into foreign ſlavery. But, if the argument be falſe, then (to return to the main point) would many thouſands be annually added to the natives of that continent, among whom the evils, exiſting in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade, would be utterly unknown.

Having now very diffuſively conſidered the firſt evil reſulting from the ſlave trade, and with equal, I fear, tedioufneſs and prolixity applied to them the two bills of regulation and abolition reſpectively as a cure, it appears that the former (whatever clauſes human ingenuity could ſuggeſt) would be *totally inadequate* to its removal; whereas the latter would *not only effectually remove it* in certain parts of the continent of Africa, but *would alſo have an influence* in ſuch, as might be reſorted to by others who had no compunction at its continuance. I ſhall now only propoſe the following queſtion. "Is it likely that the planters of foreign nations would ſee thoſe of the Britiſh ſaving the money formerly expended in the purchaſe of ſlaves, cultivating alſo the cane at a cheaper rate, and underſelling them in its produce at ſuch of the markets of Europe where the inhabitants are incapable of ſupplying themſelves, or that certain foreign governments would behold that of the Britiſh laying the foundation of a *new marine*, of a *new revenue*, and of a *new* and *inexhauſtible mart* for the *manufactures* of its ſubjects, and not follow the example?"

SECTION

SECTION II.

Having taken into conſideration the evils experienced by the Africans, or the *objects of the trade* in their firſt ſituation, namely, *in their own country*, I come now to thoſe, which they experience in their *ſecond*, or *on the Middle Paſſage*.

That there are evils, whieh they additionally experience during the tranſportation, will be evident from the following accounts, taken in the order, in which they are ſubmitted to the publick, from the papers of thoſe gentlemen, who were ſo good as to furniſh me with their evidence upon that ſubject.

ACCOUNT THE FIRST.

" The miſery, which the ſlaves endure in conſequence " of too cloſe a ſtowage, is not eaſily to be deſcribed. " I have heard them frequently complaining of heat, and " have ſeen them fainting, and almoſt dying for want of " water. Their ſituation is worſt in rainy weather. We " do every thing for them in our power. In all the " veſſels in which I ſailed in the ſlave-trade, we never " covered the gratings with a tarpawling, but made a " tarpawling awning over the booms. Notwithſtanding " which, I have ſeen the ſlaves after a rain, panting for " breath, and in ſuch a ſituation, that the ſeamen have " been obliged to get them immediately upon deck, " fearing leſt they would otherwiſe have fainted away, " and died. In one of my voyages, which was particu- " larly unhealthy, we have found eight or ten dead in a " morning. In the ———— we purchaſed 350 ſlaves, " and buried 6; in a ſecond voyage, in the ſame ſhip, " we purchaſed 350, and buried 200; and in the —— " we purchaſed about 370, and buried about 100."

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT THE SECOND.

" The ſlaves frequently complain of heat on a calm " night, but much more ſo when it rains, as we are then " obliged to ſpread a tarpawling over them; and not- " withſtanding that it is kept at a conſiderable height " from the gratings by means of a ridge rope, and " ſtretched out by means of nettles to give them every " advantage in point of air, they are ſtill in a miſerable " ſtate. I have been in their rooms to ſee them on theſe " occaſions, and have found them in a violent perſpira- " tion. I have wiped them with cloths myſelf, and have " ſeen that others have wiped them alſo. I have no " doubt but that in full ſlave-veſſels their ſufferings muſt " be inconceivably great. In the ——— we purchaſed " about 700 ſlaves, and loſt 250. In the ſhip ——— we " purchaſed about 300, out of which we buried about " 17. In the ſloop ——— 25 were bought, and 2 " buried. In the —— we bought 180, and loſt about " 25. In the ———350 were purchaſed, and 25 were " loſt as before. In the ———— about 500 were " purchaſed, and 150 buried; and out of 250 bought in " the ———, 5 died."

ACCOUNT THE THIRD.

" The ſlaves complain much of heat, and ſweat ſo, " when confined below, that their rooms are as wet as if " water had been thrown over them, and any one, who " goes below, finds himſelf preſently covered with it. — " Their worſt ſituation, or at leaſt as bad as any, is in " the rainy ſeaſons, for then they are covered over with " a tarpawling, but as we ſtudy their health, it is laid " over a pole fixed at the height of about four feet above " the middle of the gratings, ſo as to hang down like the " ridge of an houſe. When they are ſick, they are much " to be pitied. They lie on the bare boards. Such of " them as can creep upon deck from the hoſpital, which

" is

" is in the fore part of the ſhip, come up in the morning. " Such as are not able to clear themſelves, lie in their " own filth, till aſſiſtance comes. Such as are ſo ill as " not to bear a removal, have the dirt ſcraped up around " them, and lie till they are better, or expire. I was in " two French, and alſo in two Engliſh Guineamen. In " the firſt of the former deſcription from Bourdeaux, we " purchaſed about 500 ſlaves, and buried about 200. In " the ſecond, from Breſt, we purchaſed about 400, and " loſt 20. In the ———, of London, 370 were " bought, and 50 loſt. In the ———, an old man of " war, 1115 were purchaſed upon the Coaſt, and 845 " were buried."

It appears, from the above accounts, that there are two evils experienced by the Africans *on the Middle Paſſage*, in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade: the one, *inconceivable pain and agony*, ariſing from heat and confinement; the other, *a loſs of life* from the ſame cauſes. Theſe cauſes are ultimately reſolvable into one, namely, the cloſeneſs of their ſtowage. Were I to bring * a farther proof of the exiſtence of theſe evils, I would appeal to the evidence of the Liverpool delegates, during the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, from which it appeared firſt, that a ſlave had not ſufficient room to lie upon his back on the Middle Paſſage; and ſecondly, on a calculation made, that if people were to die in the ſame proportion as ſlaves during their tranſportation, the whole human race would be extinct in the ſpace of ten years.

Theſe evils then being of a very ſerious nature, (for thoſe who ſurvive the voyage muſt have exquiſitely ſuffered, and thoſe who do not, muſt have been by inches *murdered*,) it will be confeſſed by all thoſe, to whom I addreſs

* The evil complained of in the former ſection being as it were the parent and foundation of the reſt, I thought it neceſſary to bring the accounts of no leſs than ſix gentlemen, in proof of its exiſtence—With reſpect to the exiſtence of the reſt, I ſhall confine myſelf to three, being unwilling to treſpaſs unneceſſarily upon the time of my readers.

addreſs myſelf, that they ought immediately to be removed; and that as the cloſeneſs of the ſtowage is the ultimate cauſe of them, ſuch room ſhould at leaſt be allowed the ſlaves, as would make them comfortable on their paſſage, and prevent the loſs of life.

Theſe being but reaſonable data to proceed upon, let us now, as before, apply to the bill, which I anticipated to be brought into parliament for the regulation of the ſlave trade, as a cure.

In the firſt place it is evident, that the clauſes of that branch of the bill, which relates to the preſent point, muſt conſider the *ſtowage* as the foundation to go upon for a remedy to the evils complained of, and that they muſt apportion it to the tonnage of the veſſel, or ſome other given ſtandard, in ſuch a manner, as will enſure their removal. It will be therefore only neceſſary to inquire how it may be ſo apportioned, as to anſwer the purpoſed end.

To attempt to inveſtigate what ought to be the proper proportion on this occaſion, would be preſumptuous in me, when a caſe, ſo ſimilar in its principle, occurs. I allude to the ſtowage of the convicts for Botany Bay; and I think no unreaſonable perſon will object, unleſs that I may too much diſhonour the Africans, if I put them upon the ſame ſcale.

* The gentleman, to whom the ſtowage of theſe unfortunate people was referred, went upon two data, namely, to render their ſituation only comfortable, and to preſerve their lives. The reſult of his deliberation upon theſe principles was, that there ought not to be leſs than *two tons to each perſon.* Having given this his opinion, he had the ſatisfaction to find it approved of, and put in force. It would be unpardonable not to add, that his opinion was the reſult of the firſt rate nautical knowledge

* Captain Teer, of the Navy.

in

in that line: that it was formed with deliberation, care, and conſcientiouſneſs; and that it will ever have this decided ſuperiority over any other that may be now formed in a ſimilar caſe in the African trade, that it was made at an interval of *impartiality*, and at a time when that ſubject could not have warped the judgment either one way or the other by an alluſion to this particular.

Having now found out a rule, let us ſee, before we apply it, in what particular points the caſes agree or differ. In the firſt place, the objects in both of them are *men*. So far they tally. In the ſecond, one of the parties under conſideration are *convicts*, whereas in the other there are at any rate *many innocent* men. So far they differ. But the grand difference, and that only about which any diſpute can ariſe, is in the length of their reſpective paſſages. Suppoſe then, that the ſlaves, hereafter to be tranſported, ſhould have half a ton leſs for each perſon on this account; then, if we go upon the two data before mentioned, (and any other humanity forbids) the anticipated bill muſt allow *one ton and an half* to every ſlave upon his paſſage.

This being the caſe, let us apply to the bill of regulation, as containing the following clauſe of amendment in this ratio.

" And be it enacted from henceforward, that no veſſel,
" ſailing from any port in the dominions of Great Bri-
" tain, have on board at any one time more than in the
" proportion of one full grown ſlave to* every one ton and
" an half, according to the regiſter of the ſaid veſſel; or
" more boys and girls, (according to the ſtandard here-
" after to be mentioned) than in the ſame proportion."

* The paſſage from Great Britain to the Weſt Indies is made in the ſame time as the Middle Paſſage. Troops, in the former caſe, have two tons to one man. But half of them ſleep below at a time. Hence every ſoldier has room to ſleep in at the rate of four tons per man. Beſides this, they can go on deck when they pleaſe, and are not fettered. Their ſituation, notwithſtanding, has never been judged very comfortable.

But it is impoſſible to regulate the ſtowage in this proportion, *without aboliſhing the trade:* for if, by the unanimous conſent of the Liverpool delegates at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, a regulation of * *but one ton to one perſon* would *deſtroy it*, how much more would that in the ratio propoſed effect its abolition? All regulations, therefore, in this point, will be found futile and inefficient: for if the trade is to exiſt, there cannot be allowed, in the opinion of our opponents, *one ton* to *one ſlave*; but if it ſhould be continued with *leſs than a ton to a ſlave*, then will not thoſe miſeries, nor that mortality, be removed, which, in conjunction with other evils, have occaſioned, and will ſtill continue to occaſion, an oppoſition to the exiſtence of the ſlave trade.

That the bill of *abolition* would be effectual, is evident at the firſt ſight, becauſe, in conſequence of it, the evils complained of would be no more.

* See Extracts from the Evidence of the Liverpool Delegates, and their Council at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, in the Preliminaries of this Eſſay.

SECTION

SECTION III.

The evils experienced by the Africans in their firſt and ſecond ſituation, in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade, having been fully examined, and dwelt upon according to the plan propoſed, thoſe only remain for conſideration which they experience in their *third*, or *in the colonies* from the ſame cauſe.

The nature of theſe evils will be ſeen from the accounts that follow.

ACCOUNT the FIRST.

As given by the RELATOR.

"The treatment, which the ſlaves experience in the "Britiſh ſugar colonies, is very ſevere and degrading, "and is a matter of juſt complaint, inaſmuch as they are "beaten arbitrarily by thoſe who are ſet over them, and "their puniſhment is ſevere for but trifling faults."

"With reſpect to their ordinary puniſhments, and their "treatment, I ſhall mention the following particulars. "The wharfs of Kingſton are crowded every Monday "morning with poor ſlaves, who are brought there to be "whipped for the offences of the preceding week.—They "are generally tied up by the wriſts, and ſtretched out in "that manner they receive their puniſhment."

"I have often ſeen them at work with logs of wood "made faſt to them, and with iron hooks about their "necks, but what their offences were, that merited ſuch "puniſhment, I cannot ſay. I aſſert, that the ſlaves in "the Weſt India Iſlands, that is, Jamaica and Tobago, "are very cruelly uſed. I have ſeen them with ſcars on "their backs, occaſioned by whipping, which no time "could eraſe. I have ſeen them with their ears cut off,

" and their perſons otherwiſe mutilated, but particularly " in the vicinity of Kingſton, and, in both iſlands, the " ſound of the whip is continually in the ears of thoſe " who live there."

ACCOUNT the SECOND.

" I have ſeen four or five negroe boys and girls tied up " by their hands to the rams-horns of a crane, and by " means of the machine lifted from the ground. Their " whole weight was ſuſpended by their wriſts. In this " ſituation they were flogged with a buſh of black ebony, " which has ten times more prickles upon it than the " green thorn buſh of this country. The blood iſſued " at every ſtroke, and to increaſe the pain, the buſh was " previouſly dipped into ſalt water."

" I once ſaw a very fine young woman in the iſland of " Barbadoes, for a very ſlight offence to her miſtreſs, " ſtretched out with her belly on the ground, and quite " naked, receive thirty-nine laſhes. Every cut of the " whip fetched blood from her fleſh."

" At another time I was on a viſit at a plantation in " Grenada, upon which were ſeveral ſlaves whom I had " brought from Africa, and among theſe an old woman " and three daughters. On inquiry for them, I was " much ſurpriſed to hear that they were at work in the " field, as I had not ſold them more than three days be- " fore. Upon this I walked out to ſee them before din- " ner. When I entered the field, I diſcovered the old " woman at work with her hoe, who no ſooner ſaw than " ſhe ran to meet me, and out of joyfulneſs ſeized my " hand. I inquired of her what had become of her " daughters. She pointed them out at work, when one " of them, of the age of ten or eleven, happening to " turn her head on one ſide, and to ſee us together, im- " mediately left her work, and ran to join us. The " overſeer, finding her running off, and directing her

" ſteps

" ſteps to me, ran after her. He had time however to
" take up a large clot of earth and to throw it at her, as
" ſhe was running. It unfortunately hit her between
" the ſhoulders, and brought her to the ground. He
" came up to her before ſhe was able to riſe, and beat
" her, as ſhe lay with her face upon the earth, in the
" moſt unmerciful manner with a cow-ſkin. I imme-
" diately ran to the ſpot, and ſtopped his arm, exclaiming
" at the ſame time againſt his cruel behaviour. He
" apologized by ſaying, that it would be *impoſſible* to
" carry on the buſineſs of the plantation, in which were
" upwards of *two hundred* negroes, and only *three white*
" *men*, unleſs he was *ſtrict and ſevere on every occaſion.*"

ACCOUNT the THIRD.

" It is cuſtomary to ſee ſome of the ſlaves in the Weſt
" Indies at work in chains. Others are obliged to drag
" after them a log of wood, and, notwithſtanding the
" weight of it, to keep up with the reſt of the gang;
" while others, who have run away, are diſtinguiſhed
" with iron collars on their necks, and large triangles
" riveted on the outſide of them, ſpreading out about
" two feet. Theſe triangles are of iron, and have a
" ſimilar appearance to thoſe put upon the necks of
" ſwine, to prevent them from breaking hedges, and
" ſtraying in the fields at large. The weight of the
" whole may be from ten to twelve pounds."

" With reſpect to puniſhment for omiſſion, lazineſs,
" or neglect, it is arbitrary. I have frequently ſeen them
" flogged with a long laſhed whip, and for no other
" reaſon than becauſe they were thought to be ſlow in
" their work. The overſeer does as he pleaſes."

" With reſpect to what are called regular puniſhments,
" there is a perſon called a Jumper, who calls at people's
" houſes to know if they have any ſlaves to be flogged,
" and who gets his living by this employment. The

 " ſlaves,

" ſlaves, who are marked for puniſhment, are flogged in " different ways. They are ſometimes ſtretched out with " their bellies on the ground. In this caſe there are four " negroes to hold them, one at each hand and foot. In " this poſture the whip is applied to their backs. At other " times their hands are faſtened, by means of irons, to a " kind of gallows. They are ſuſpended there for a while, " when a heavy weight is tied to their feet to prevent " them from ſpringing up. Confined in this manner, " they receive the laſh. The whip generally takes out a " piece of fleſh at every ſtroke. To make the puniſh- " ment more ſevere, the jumper, having cut the ſlave on " one ſide of the back, changes ſides in order to croſs and " chequer it. When this operation is over, the ſlave is " again flogged, but in another way. This is done with a " ſwitch of ebony, the prickles of which open any bruiſes " that may have been made on the back, and let out the " congealed blood. The back is afterwards pickled. I " have repeatedly ſeen theſe puniſhments both in Antigua, " St. Chriſtopher's, and Jamaica, and they are ſo com- " mon, and ſo ſeverely inflicted, that it is impoſſible to go " among a group of ſlaves, without ſeeing a great part " of them, whoſe backs are chequered with the laſh."

From the above accounts the nature of the evils, which the Africans are made to endure in their third ſituation or in the Britiſh colonies, is but too apparent. Their *third* ſituation is evidently but a ſtate of additional pain and ſorrow. A ſtate of much corporal ſuffering, conti- nual dread, and the moſt degrading ſubmiſſion. A ſtate, in which men are conſidered as brutes, but treated with leſs compaſſion. A ſtate, in which Providence never de- ſigned any of his rational creatures to be placed, and under which human nature groans.

To remove theſe evils then, (for no one would deny that they were intolerable evils, if he were to be ſentenced to undergo them) let us apply to the anticipated *Bill of Regulation* as before.

It

It is evident, firſt, that if a bill is to be actually introduced into parliament for the purpoſe of removing the evils now complained of, it ſhould contain ſuch clauſes, as will be adequate to the purpoſed end. It is evident, ſecondly, that, to know what clauſes would be adequate, ſome inquiry ſhould take place, and that no inquiry would be likely to be attended with ſucceſs, but ſuch as ſhould be made concerning the ſource or origin from whence they ſpring. This being the caſe, I ſhall ſtate one or two of the cauſes of the exiſtence of that branch of the evils now mentioned, for from hence the nature of the clauſes, that are to cure them, will immediately appear.

Several of the Africans, who are taken to the Britiſh colonies, have lived in their own country, previouſly to their tranſportation, a life of indolence and eaſe. All ſuch, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed, can have but little inclination to labour, and much leſs to labour for the luxury and ſupport of others. Unaccuſtomed alſo to toil, the taſk muſt be additionally burthenſome and intolerable. Hence one of the cauſes of the neceſſity of the laſh.

It muſt be obvious alſo, that ſeveral of them have been torn from their connexions, and ſent into ſlavery. The remembrance of theſe muſt be painful. It muſt generate the ſigh, awaken diſcontent, and, when they conſider *on whoſe account* they have been torn from all that is dear to them, occaſion immediate diſguſt to their maſters, which muſt terminate in revenge. The reflexion upon their comparative ſituation in the colonies and at home muſt tend alſo to widen the breach. The thought of their number too, compared with thoſe of their enſlavers, muſt favour their idea of revenge, as it muſt heighten their probability of ſucceſs; and hence another cauſe of that diſcipline in the colonies, which is deſervedly called oppreſſion.

Now, to come to the point, and to remedy the evils ſuſtained by the Africans in their *third ſituation*, as ariſing from theſe ſources, it is obvious that the two following

clauſes muſt be made, (and that the *two following only*, however ridiculous they may appear, can be effectual) if a remedy be actually ſought for.

" Be it enacted from henceforward, that the man, who " has never laboured at all, but has led a life of indolence " and eaſe, ſhall immediately have an inclination to " labour, but particularly for the benefit of thoſe, whom " he has never ſeen, and for whom he has no regard."

" And be it farther enacted from henceforward, that " the man who has received an injury, ſhall have no " emotions of revenge or ſorrow on that account, but " that he ſhall be perfectly pleaſed with thoſe, who have " done it, and thoſe who have occaſioned it to be done."*

Now, if the Britiſh Parliament have ſuch a power over the human heart and habit as to enact ſuch clauſes as the foregoing, and to enforce them, then that branch of the evils complained of, as exiſting in the colonies, will immediately be no more: for the Africans will then work without the neceſſity of the laſh, nor will any extraordinary means be neceſſary to keep them in ſubjection. But if the Britiſh parliament, on the other hand, have no ſuch power, then will *all regulation whatever* be ineffectual. For if the ſlave trade is to be regulated, it is evidently to *exiſt*. So long as it exiſts, ſo long will Africans of both the deſcriptions mentioned continue to be brought from their country, and ſo long as they continue to be brought from thence, and ſent into ſlavery, ſo long will there be found among them an averſion from labour, and a ſpirit of revenge, and ſo long will a ſyſtem of ſevere diſcipline be neceſſarily continued, or, in other words, *thoſe evils ſuſtained by the Africans in their third ſituation, or in the colonies*, which among others have ſo juſtly excited the interpoſition of the publick to remove them, *will not ceaſe*.

* I am ſorry to be obliged, on a grave ſubject, to make uſe of clauſes that carry with them the appearance of ridicule, but none other can be imagined.

It

It is clear then, that the anticipated Bill of *Regulation* can be of no avail in the preſent caſe. The Bill of *Abolition*, on the other hand, would not only hinder thoſe of the Africans from experiencing the evils complained of, who, if the trade had continued, would have been imported into the colonies, but would in ſome points lighten the burthen of thoſe already there; and, when theſe were extinct, it would be found to have had the effect of introducing a ſyſtem of lenity inſtead of oppreſſion, inaſmuch as the then labourers having been brought up from their infancy to labour, having been born in the iſlands, having never been torn from their relatives and connexions, but, on the other hand, living among them, and having never known any but a ſtate of ſubjugation, the former ſyſtem of diſcipline would be uſeleſs, and would neceſſarily ceaſe.

CHAP. III.

Having fully conſidered the *firſt diviſion* of the evils, ſuſtained by the Africans, or the *objects of the trade*, in their three ſeveral ſituations, as I at firſt premiſed, I come to the *ſecond*, which comprehends ſuch as are experienced by thoſe *who are employed in it*. I mean the *Seamen*.

In this diviſion of evils are comprehended *ſix*, according as we conſider the ſufferings of this deſcription of people, and the conſequences reſulting from them under the heads of *lodging*, *diet*, *treatment*, *pay*, *loſs* while in the ſervice of their reſpective veſſels, and *loſs* after their diſcharge in the colonies. I ſhall take two of theſe evils at a time in a diſtinct ſection. I ſhall ſhew in what they conſiſt, and, then applying to them the two Bills of *Regulation* and *Abolition* as before, ſee which of them is likely to effect a cure.

SECT. I.

SECT. I.

The firſt and ſecond evils then which the ſeamen experience, who are employed in the ſlave trade, may be included under the words *lodging* and *diet*. That there are evils of this deſcription, that call aloud for an immediate remedy, will be obvious, if any credit is to be paid to the three following diſintereſted accounts.

ACCOUNT the FIRST.

" One hardſhip which the ſeamen experience in the " ſlave trade is a want of ſhelter. They are never ad- " mitted on any pretence between decks. They are " obliged to ſleep in the tops, or in the long-boat, or " wherever they can get, except under the booms, and " this without covering*, and in the cold. If they become " ſick in conſequence of it, no care is taken of them, no " ſpirits allowed to refreſh them, no more ſhelter than " before, but they are perhaps beaten for their lazineſs."

* It may be ſaid by ſome, that there is a tarpawling awning over the booms, which ought to be conſidered as a ſhelter, for that under this ſhelter the ſeamen can put their heads, and that ſome of them often ſleep. To this may be given the following reply.—— 1ſt. That when it is uſed, it affords but little ſhelter, for in conſequence of the ſun and rain, it is generally cracked and in holes before they leave the coaſt.— 2d. That when it is uſed, it is uſed for the benefit, not of the ſeamen, but of the ſlaves, for, firſt, it is intended to prevent the rain, as much as it can, from getting through the gratings below, and, ſecondly, if any of the ſeamen ſleep under it at this particular time, they are obliged to lie in the noxious ſteam and effluvia riſing up to them from the ſlaves, which has a worſe effect upon their conſtitutions, than were they to ſleep in the open air.—3d. That it is uſed but ſeldom in the courſe of the paſſage, for, in the firſt place, it cannot be uſed, when the veſſel is on a wind, for it would interfere with the working of the main-ſail; ſecondly, it cannot be uſed when it blows hard, as the wind would ſhiver it to pieces, and it is therefore obliged, upon ſuch occaſions, to be furled up: thirdly, if it rains and blows, even though it is intended as a ſhelter againſt the rain, it cannot be uſed for the ſame reaſon. It is then but in one ſeaſon, namely, in calm weather and rain only, that it can be uſed at all.

" Nor

" Nor are they worſe uſed in point of proviſions. While " they are at home, and in port, they have plenty to eat " and drink, but are very ſoon afterwards put to allowance. " In the ———, as well as in the ———, they were " allowed but 5lb. of bread per week, and the little beef " that was given them, was either exceſſively bad in itſelf, " or damaged. They had neither peaſe nor flour."

ACCOUNT the SECOND.

" Among the hardſhips endured by the ſeamen in the " ſlave trade is a want of ſhelter. They are never per- " mitted to ſleep between decks till the ſlaves are ſold, ſo " that during this ſpace of time which includes their ſtay " upon the coaſt and the Middle Paſſage, they are expoſed " both night and day. What added to the miſery of the " people on board the ——— was, that the Captain threw " all their bedding overboard, while upon the coaſt, ſo " that they had nothing but the bare decks to lie upon, " till they arrived at the port of delivery."

" They ſuffer alſo exceedingly in point of proviſions. " In the ———, and in the ———, the allowance was " ſometimes 3lb. and at other times 4lb. of bread per " week to each man, and half a pound of damaged ſalt " beef per day. Hungry or not, this was their only " allowance."

" When ſick, they had nothing to comfort them, nei- " ther wine nor ſpirits, ſo far otherwiſe, that they fared " worſe than formerly. The ſmall allowance before given " them was then taken away, the ſurgeon ſaying, 'that " this was the only method to cure them.' On theſe " occaſions, inſtead of nouriſhment and comfort, they " were frequently beaten, and when unable to crawl out " of their tyrant's way, they were kicked about, the " ruffians generally pouring out the moſt horrid execra- " tions upon them at the ſame time."

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT the THIRD.

" No ſeaman whatever, in all the ten voyages alluded " to, had any ſhelter or place of retreat in which he could " put his head, during the whole of the Middle Paſſage, " but every one of them was expoſed night and day to the " inclemency of the weather."

" The proviſions on board the ſlave veſſels are not only " bad or damaged, but are dealt out ſo ſparingly, that the " crews are often put to great pain on account of the calls " of hunger. The very largeſt allowance given to each " man in the courſe of the ten voyages, was ſuch a ſmall " quantity of damaged beef or pork, as when boiled " amounted to but *four* ounces per day, and of bread *five* " pounds per week. The ſmalleſt was three pounds of " bread per week, and the ſame quantity of damaged " beef or pork, as before mentioned, per day."

It appears from the Accounts juſt given, that the evils complained of under the heads of *lodging* and *diet*, are not imaginary, but that they are ſubſtantial and great. To be expoſed day and night for ſome months to the inclemency of the weather, and to be labouring under the pangs of hunger, are evils to thoſe who endure them. They are evils, becauſe the ſtate of thoſe who endure them is a ſtate of bodily pain; becauſe ſome of them die in conſequence, and die a lingering and agonizing death; and becauſe ſome of thoſe who ſurvive, have their conſtitutions ruined and diſorders entailed upon them, which render their lives a burthen to themſelves, and them a burthen to others.

This being the caſe, let us apply to that part of the anticipated Bill of Regulation which muſt take cognizance of this branch of the ſubject, for a cure.

But the queſtion is, " of what nature ought the clauſes " of the anticipated bill to be to anſwer the wiſhed-for " end? "—I reply, that the nature of them is ſelf-evident.

The

The ſailor, who is to be expoſed to tornadoes and frequent and heavy rains, requires as much ſhelter, at leaſt as the ſailor who is not to be expoſed to the one, and is only to be expoſed to the other in a moderate degree. The ſailor who goes to Guinea, can eat as much as the ſailor in any other employ, and requires as much wholeſome ſupport. But the ſailor, who woods and waters in Africa, who works up to his knees, and frequently up to his breaſt in ſwamps, who is out in an open boat for a fortnight at a time, and who is ſubjected on board to the ſtench and diſorders of a number of miſerable beings confined in a narrow ſpace, requires a greater portion of nouriſhment than the ſailor in other trades.

It is eaſy then to diſcover what muſt be the nature of the clauſes of the *Regulating Bill*, which are to cure the two evils that have been explained.

With reſpect to the firſt, or the evil experienced in the preſent *lodging* of ſeamen in the ſlave trade, it is evident firſt, that the ſpace allotted them muſt be between decks, as no place above can be deemed a ſufficient ſhelter; ſecondly, that the ſpace muſt be in the after-part of the ſhip, firſt, for ſecurity againſt the ſlaves, and ſecondly for the working of the veſſel. And, 3dly, that their apartment muſt be ſo conſtructed, that the foul air coming from the room of the ſlaves may be excluded, and the freſh received. Upon theſe then, and other data, we may expect to find the following clauſe in the anticipated *Bill of Regulation*.

" And be it enacted from henceforward, that in every " veſſel ſailing to the Coaſt of Africa for ſlaves, one-tenth " of the range of the lower deck be appropriated to the " ſeamen, and not to be infringed upon under certain " penalties, hereafter to be named, ſituated in * frigate-built " veſſels before the gun room, and in galley-built veſſels " before the ſtore-room and Captain's cabin. And be it

* In frigate-built veſſels the officers to ſleep above the ſeamen under the half-deck.

" farther

" farther enacted, that the ſaid room be ſcuttled at the " top, and in the ſides, and that a cloſe bulk-head be made " between it and the room of the women ſlaves of the " thickneſs and materials hereafter to be named."

Now this regulation, if the health of men is of any conſequence to them in life, or if the lives of ſeamen are valuable to themſelves or to their country, ought immediately to be put in force. But mark the conſequences. By taking a tenth part of the range of the lower deck for the ſeamen, you turn out a tenth part of the ſlaves. By turning out a tenth part of the ſlaves, you lower the proportion of the number of them to be carried to the tonnage of the veſſel, and by reducing the proportion to the tonnage, you are making, by the confeſſion of the Liverpool delegates, a clauſe that has a tendency to *deſtroy* the trade.

With reſpect to the ſecond, or the evil comprized in the word *diet*, the following clauſe may be expected to be found.

" And be it enacted from henceforward, that there " ſhall be an inſpector at each of the ſlave ports belonging " to his Majeſty's dominions, whoſe office it ſhall be to " ſee that ſound and wholeſome proviſions be put on board " the different veſſels ſailing from thence for ſlaves, that " a ſufficient quantity alſo be put on board them at a rate " per man, and for a time, hereafter to be named; and " that a certain portion of wine and ſpirits be taken " alſo, for the uſe of thoſe who are to be employed in " boats for a length of time from the ſhips, for thoſe " who are to wood and water, and for thoſe who are " ſick. And be it farther enacted, that the Captains, or " other officers, of the above veſſels, receive a certificate " from the ſaid officer, of the quantity put on board, " and that they deliver to another officer, to be ap- " pointed at the port of delivery, the certificate before " received, whoſe office it ſhall be to examine the ſaid " certificate, to take an account of the different articles

" before

" before mentioned that are brought in, to require an " account of the expenditure of ſuch as do not appear, " and to report the ſame; and that certain pains and " penalties, hereafter to be named, be annexed to non- " compliance on either ſide."

The regulation, which the above clauſe contains, is but reaſonable, becauſe it is abſolutely *neceſſary*. Suppoſing it then to be put in force, let us inquire how it will operate? —Its operation will be this. The outfit of the veſſels will become ſo expenſive, or the profits of the voyage (for one of the profits of it, it is melancholy to relate, is made from pinching the bellies of the ſeamen) will be ſo diminiſhed, that it will operate as an *abolition* of the trade.

To ſum up the whole. It has been ſhewn that there are two evils, included in the words *lodging* and *diet*, actually exiſting in the ſlave trade, and two remedies for theſe evils have been propoſed. Theſe remedies are reaſonable in themſelves, becauſe neceſſary. Moſt of them exiſt already in other trades, and common juſtice requires that they ſhould be made in that which is now under our conſideration. One of them, however, has been found to have a tendency to diminiſh the profits, and the other to increaſe the expenſes of the voyage; profits and expenſes, which cannot bear to be diminiſhed on the one hand, or increaſed on the other. What then follows, but that any ſalutary regulation on theſe points will be *ineffectual?* For the evils complained of muſt either all of them exiſt, (and there is no reaſonable man but will ſay that they ought to ceaſe) or, if an attempt is made at their removal, the attempt will tend to the *abolition of the trade*.

So much then for the *Regulating* Bill. Let us now apply to that of *Abolition* for a cure. But here it is evident, that the latter bill will immediately remove the evils complained of, and that it will remove them for ever; for in no * other trade have theſe evils intentionally exiſted, nor

* In other trades the ſeamen ſleep between decks. Their allowance of proviſions is in general 2 lb. beef or pork, and 1 lb. bread, peaſe, or flour per day, which has been found to be as much as they can eat.

nor in any other which may be purſued is it neceſſary that they ſhould exiſt at all.

SECTION II.

I come now to the *third* and *fourth* evils which the ſeamen experience in the ſlave trade. Theſe are included under the heads of *treatment* and *pay*.

The nature of the evils of this deſcription will be ſeen from the three following accounts.

ACCOUNT the FIRST.

" The ſeamen of the ——— were extremely ill treated. " The Captain never addreſſed them but with an oath, " or with ſome ignominious epithet or other, for he never " called any of them by his true name. He was accuſ- " tomed alſo to beat them with ropes in a very inhuman " and mercileſs manner, and to flog them for the ſlighteſt " omiſſion or fault."

" Among the crew of the ——— was one of the name " of John Coffee, a native of Ireland. This man was " exceſſively ill uſed, if not murdered. His legs, as is " common in theſe voyages, were much ſwelled, ſo that he " could not walk, but with great pain. In this ſituation " the Captain ordered him to do ſome duty belonging to " the ſhip. The poor man replied, that he was totally " unable, for that his legs would not ſuffer him, and that " he was then in the greateſt agony. Captain ——— " anſwered, that he would drive his lazineſs out of him, " and make his legs ſwell more. Upon this, he ordered " him to be ſeized up to the main-ſhrouds on the ſtarboard " ſide abaft, and his arms to be confined on ſuch a part " of them that his toes ſhould juſt reach the deck. In " this ſituation he remained for a conſiderable time, bear- " ing his whole weight upon his arms, that he might not,

" by

" by means of his toes touching the deck, be put to extra-
" ordinary pain, till at length he felt himſelf in ſuch anguiſh
" of body, on account of his ſuſpenſion by the arms, and
" the racking pain in his legs, that he earneſtly intreated the
" Captain to put a piſtol to his head and ſhoot him, and
" thus, by an act of kindneſs, to relieve him from a ſitua-
" tion to which death was infinitely to be preferred. The
" Captain, however, paid no other attention to his com-
" plaints, than by addreſſing him in the following words:
" You villain, do you think that I'll be hanged for you?
" and ſuffered him to remain for about ſix hours in ſuch
" an excruciating ſtate. At ſix in the evening he was
" taken down, but on the following morning died."

" It is an invariable rule on board ſlave veſſels, to
" oblige the ſeamen, on their arrival in the Weſt Indies,
" to take *half their wages in the currency* of the iſland, at
" which the ſlaves are ſold. This is a great hardſhip, for
" the ſeamen of the ——— were charged for every
" dollar (of the value of four ſhillings and ſixpence)
" which they received, eight ſhillings and threepence;
" that is, they received by theſe means but little more
" than half the wages that were due to them, notwith-
" ſtanding a voyage of ill treatment, hunger, hardſhips,
" and fatigue."

ACCOUNT the SECOND.

" Among the crew of the ſhip ———, the cabin-boy
" was ſingularly oppreſſed. Mr. ———, the chief mate,
" and who afterwards ſucceeded to the command on the
" death of Captain ———, ſeemed to take a delight in
" perſecuting him. It happened one day that the tea-
" kettle, the management of which belonged to this boy,
" was not boiled in time; upon which the aforeſaid chief
" mate threatened to beat him, as ſoon as breakfaſt ſhould
" be over."

" The poor boy, on account of his former ill uſage, " was terrified at his threat, and betook himſelf to the " lee fore-chains. When the breakfaſt, however, was " over, the chief mate came out of the cabin, and, not " forgetting his promiſe, took a piece of rope out of his " pocket, calling out to the boy by name at the ſame " time. The boy ſeeing and hearing this, and perceiv- " ing alſo that Mr. ——— was approaching towards " him, immediately jumped into the ſea, which was very " high at the time, and was drowned. This happened " on the outward-bound paſſage."

" At another time, when the veſſel was lying at ——, " James Alliſon, a ſeaman, was very ill. Mr. ——— " ordered him down into the woman's room to ſcrape it. " The above Alliſon accordingly went, but, having re- " ceived ſeveral bruiſes before, by means of a rope uſed " upon him by the ſame perſon, which bruiſes occaſioned " him to be in a feeble ſtate, he was unable to perform " the allotted taſk. Upon this, Mr. ——— aſked him, " Why he did not proceed in his work. He replied, " That he was really unable. He had no ſooner uttered " theſe words, than Mr. ——— threw an handſpike at " him from the deck, which ſtruck him with great vio- " lence upon the breaſt. In conſequence of the blow, " he immediately fell down, and though he began to re- " cover a little afterwards, he lived but four days."

" The treatment of the ſeamen was cruel from the " very beginning to the end of the voyage. Ropes and " handſpikes were in common uſe; and they were often " kicked and beaten with the fiſt for only imaginary faults. " I was nine other voyages to the coaſt, and I am ready " to come forward and ſay, that there was not one of " them in which a ſeaman was well uſed."

" In ſpeaking of the treatment of ſeamen, it will be " proper to add, that, in all the ten voyages alluded to, " they were obliged, on their arrival in the Weſt Indies, " to take *half* of the wages then due to them (the deareſt

" that

" that can poſſibly be earned) in *currency inſtead of* " *ſterling.*"

ACCOUNT the THIRD.

" The ſeamen of the ——— were treated in a very " barbarous manner. There were two brothers on " board the —— of the name of Walker, from Cornwall. " Theſe were ſo cruelly beaten and oppreſſed, that they " jumped overboard, but being taken up by the ſhip's " boats, were brought on board again, and ſerved nearly " in the ſame manner as thoſe of the ſame deſcription in " the former ſhip. Thomas Walker, in conſequence of " his ill uſage, became mad, and died. His brother " William, though not delirious, ſoon afterwards died " from the ſame cauſe."

" On board the ——— was alſo a landman, from Li- " verpool, of the name of Edward Hilton. He had " been out in one of the boats, watering all the day, that " is, from three in the morning till late at night, and " had been without any food for the whole time. He " complained to the boatſwain, who was then officer of " the boat, that he was hungry, who immediately beat " him with the tiller. The ſame boatſwain going after- " wards on board, repreſented the conduct of Hilton to " the officers of the ſhip. Upon this, he was ordered out " of the boat, and on his getting into the veſſel was " beaten both by the ſurgeon and mate at the ſame time. " The former ſtruck him in the eye with his cane, which " brought on a mortification, and occaſioned the loſs of " it. Being afterwards beaten and kicked about, he fell " into a decline, ſo that a perſon who had been abſent for " three weeks in Junk River did not know him on his " return. When the ſame perſon was ordered again " into Junk River, and the ſloop or ſhallop was putting " off, the Captain ordered her to be brought to, and, in " a rough and brutal manner, commanded Mr. ———, " and the reſt, to take that white negroe Hilton with

" them, and to put him on ſhore any where, and to leave " him. Being too weak to riſe up or to move, the poor " man was accordingly lowered into the boat, where he " had not been for more than twelve hours, before he " expired."

" The crew of the ——— having been much weakened " by mortality, and the ſlaughter of a whole ſhallop's " crew by the natives, Captain ——— was obliged to " get hands from any veſſel that could ſpare them. Among " others who had been ſpared from other ſhips was an Iriſh " ſeaman, of the name of Laurence Smithie, who came " from a ſhip called the ——, of Liverpool. This perſon " had by ſome means or other incurred the diſpleaſure of " the ſurgeon of the ———, who beat him in conſequence " of it ſo ſeverely in the boat with the tiller, that the " blood ran down on both ſides of his head. The ſur- " geon not ſatisfied with this, complained afterwards to " the Captain, and he was put (both his legs) into irons. " A collar was alſo faſtened to his neck, by means of " which he was chained to the pumps. In this ſituation " he remained without any ſhelter, and was obliged to " work points and gaſkets for the ſhips ſails. This was " one part of his puniſhment. At other times, however, " he was chained down in the boats, and there made to " row on different kinds of duty with both his legs in " irons. His puniſhment, including both the modes of " it deſcribed, laſted about three months, at the end of " which time, being much emaciated and weak, he " was looſened from the pumps, and his collar was taken " off. One day after this he went aft, and being much " reduced, requeſted of the Captain that he would give " him ſomething to eat. The Captain, however, inſtead " of ſatisfying his hunger, beat him very ſeverely with a " cane, one of thoſe which grow in the country, and " which the Captains of Guineamen cauſe to be procured " for the purpoſe of beating ſeamen. This he did in ſo " violent a manner, that the unhappy man the next morn- " ing was found dead."

" To

" To this account I ſhall add, that if there is another " hardſhip which ſeamen experience in the ſlave trade, be- " ſides the treatment which they receive there, it is, that " after a want of ſhelter for months, and a ſtate of hunger " and thirſt for the ſame time, they are made to take half " their wages in the currency of the place, where the veſſel " ſells her ſlaves; ſo that for ſervices, which ruin the con- " ſtitution of many of them for ever, they are compelled to " receive little more than half of what would have been " paid them in other trades."

It appears then, from the above accounts, that there are two other evils ſuſtained by the ſeamen, or thoſe employed in the ſlave trade; the firſt, their treatment as far as their perſonal ſufferings are concerned; the ſecond, as far as relates to their pay. That ſo much oppreſſion ſhould reign with impunity on the one hand, and ſo much miſery be ſuſtained unredreſſed on the other, is an evil of ſerious importance, and calls aloud for the immediate interpoſition of the legiſlative power. Nor is the deduction from their pay, though comparatively leſs than the other grievance, of little conſequence in itſelf. It is a fraud * or impoſition in thoſe who practiſe, or occaſion it to be practiſed, and every fraud or impoſition is an evil. It is a peculiar hardſhip on thoſe that ſuffer it, an hardſhip, which they cannot remedy of themſelves, and which therefore calls for redreſs from others.

Theſe then being allowed to be evils, let us take each of them in its turn, and direct our thoughts to its removal.

With reſpect to that which relates to the treatment of ſeamen in point of bodily ſuffering, it will be proper to ſtate one or two of the reaſons from whence ſuch a ſyſtem of tyranny originates, and why it continues, that we may be the better enabled to judge of the nature of the clauſe,

* It is a fraud or impoſition, becauſe moſt of the ſeamen in the ſlave trade have been put on board either by treachery or compulſion.

in the anticipated Bill of *Regulation*, that ought to be applied to it as a cure.

It originates and is contracted, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, in the very * proſecution of the trade. The unhappy people, who are objects of it, are incapable of gaining redreſs, or, in other words, are under the neceſſity of ſuffering it to continue, on various accounts. The perſons to whom the ſlaves are conſigned at the port of delivery, and the proprietors of the veſſels at the ports from whence they ſail, being often the principal magiſtrates of the place, it is almoſt impoſſible for them (as but too many inſtances evince) to meet with the ſatisfaction which their grievances require. For magiſtrates to open to the world, in a publick court, the cruelties of the principal agents they employ, would be to throw a cenſure upon themſelves, and an odium upon their trade. To this it muſt be added, that the forms of law are tedious, that the finances of ſeamen are ſmall, that evidence is to be ſupported for months, (with all which the Guinea officers are acquainted) and that many other circumſtances occur, which operate as impediments to redreſs. Theſe then being ſome of the cauſes of the continuance of the evils, let us ſuppoſe that the clauſe to be found in that branch of the bill which looks forward to this particular point, be of the following form.

"And be it enacted from the day hereafter to be "named, that a new court of law be inſtituted in all the "ſlave ports belonging to Great Britain, to which all "ſuch ſeamen as conceive themſelves to have been in-"jured, may have an *immediate* appeal. And be it farther "enacted, under the authority aforeſaid, that no perſon "be a member of the ſaid court, who has *any concern* "*whatever in the African trade.*"

Here then is, firſt, an unſullied court, and, ſecondly, a quick appeal. To loſe no time, let us ſuppoſe a caſe to have been already decided upon, and let us haſten to put

* See Eſſay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade, page 74, 2d Edition.

the

the ſentence in force which may be ſuppoſed to have been given: —— But,—upon whom is the ſentence to be executed? — Not upon thoſe who are juſt entering into the trade, who, while they are imbibing the cruelty that naturally ſprings out of it, are imbibing the fear of puniſhment in conſequence of the new regulations at the ſame time, but upon people whoſe habits are formed, in whoſe very conſtitution the ſyſtem of cruelty is interwoven. To attempt to turn ſuch from their practices by the execution of law, would be to attempt to turn the tyger, by beating him, from the purſuit of blood.—Habit, we all know, is a ſecond nature, and experience in the very caſe under conſideration confirms the fact. For there have been inſtances in which an injured ſeaman has unexpectedly found a friend. His tyrant has as unexpectedly ſuffered, but he has gone out again, and behaved worſe in the ſubſequent voyage, than in the preceding for which he was made to ſuffer.

If the reader would wiſh me to be more particular, I will mention an inſtance, though rather different in its circumſtances, that is now before me. The mate of a Guineaman was tried at Barbadoes for the murder of one of the crew on the Middle Paſſage. The principal evidence was, by means of bribery, ſent away, and the murderer eſcaped. —— Sometime afterwards he was thought *worthy* of the command of a ſhip in the ſame trade. His eſcape had not the effect upon him of occaſioning him to alter his conduct in his new ſituation, for his tyranny was more enormous, if poſſible, than before. In a ſucceeding voyage, made the latter end of the year 1787, or the beginning of 1788, he was proceeding in the ſame ſyſtem of oppreſſion, when death ſtopped him in his career.

It is * impoſſible then, unleſs Parliament can alter the habits of men, that any laws, which are not to be

* Even on a ſuppoſition that ſome redreſs could be gotten by the ſurvivors, what redreſs could be had for thoſe who periſh in the trade, or for the families left behind them?

executed upon the preſent officers of Guineamen till their return home, and which do not conſtantly accompany and arreſt them in the very moment of the commiſſion of their enormities, will be effectual to remove the evil complained of. But if ſo, what remedy is to be found? It may be ſaid by ſome, that the anticipated bill ſhould contain a clauſe, which ſhould prohibit the preſent officers of Guineamen from continuing in the trade, hoping, that thoſe, who entered into it afreſh, would, while they were imbibing the cruelty naturally ſpringing out of it, imbibe the fear of puniſhment in conſequence of the new regulations at the ſame time, and that the evil would be thus nipped in its very bud.—On this I ſhall make no other comment, than that ſuch a clauſe, by removing thoſe who were acquainted with the *ſyſtem* of commerce in Africa, would deſtroy the trade.

I come now to the other evil. It has been ſtated, that the ſeamen in the ſlave trade, after a voyage of ill uſage, hunger, hardſhip, and fatigue, are obliged, on their arrival at the port of delivery, to take half the wages then due to them in currency inſtead of ſterling.

This fraud or impoſition, as it muſt be called when applied to thoſe who occaſion it to be practiſed, or hardſhip when applied to thoſe who endure it, calls for an immediate removal. But,—in what manner is it to be removed? What clauſe ought there to be in the anticipated bill of *Regulation* that will cure it, and cure it in ſuch a manner, as that there ſhall be no objection with any reaſonable perſon to its application? I anſwer, that it can never be objected that the ſeamen under conſideration, who run twenty times the riſk of others, ſhould be put upon the ſame eſtabliſhment as the ſeamen in other trades. This being the caſe, the following clauſe, or one ſimilar to it, ought to be found in that branch of the bill, that adverts to the preſent point.

" And be it enacted from henceforward, that the wages " of the ſeamen, employed in the ſlave trade, be conti- " nued at their preſent rates."

" And

" And be it farther enacted, that any money or monies, " or goods to be turned againſt them into money, either " iſſued out, or to be iſſued out to them in part, or in " the whole as wages, be accounted for to them and their " executors, in the ſterling money of Great Britain."

Here then is a remedy, and an unobjectionable remedy, that will fairly meet the evil complained of. But mark the conſequence. The ſeamen, it has already been obſerved, are obliged to take half their wages in currency inſtead of ſterling. But this is not all, for the wages of all ſuch as die (and that hundreds annually die is a fact) are paid to their executors, (if they * are ever paid at all) *even in Great Britain*, at the ſame rate. Upon this defrauding of the ſeamen of their wages on the one hand, and the pinching of them in point of proviſions on the other, (as has been ſtated in a former place) is the great dependance of the ſlave merchants for the profits of their voyage. What then would follow, but that if a law ſhould paſs obliging them to make up their accounts in ſterling inſtead of currency, it would be a ſtab that would contribute greatly to inſure the *abolition* of the trade.

It appears then, upon the whole, that one of the evils complained of, is *incurable*, and that *no regulation* will avail. Nor is it leſs apparent with reſpect to the other, that *regulation* may be conſidered as *inefficient*, inaſmuch as it can *never be applied.* For regulation implies the continuance of the trade. Now, if the trade is to continue, it muſt have its uſual ſource of advantages and profit to ſupport it: but if you regulate it in ſuch a manner that the ſource now mentioned be exhauſted, you are giving it a blow that will have a tendency to *make it fall*; and if you do not infringe upon it in the courſe of your regulations, then *will not the evil ceaſe*, which

* Very few of the executors of the deceaſed ſeamen in the ſlave trade can get the wages due to them, for either fictitious accounts of goods taken up in the courſe of the voyage are ſet againſt their wages, or the expence of adminiſtering is contrived to be made equal to the money due.

has

has been ſo juſtly complained of in the proſecution of the trade.

The bill *of abolition* on the contrary would be completely *effectual*, inaſmuch as it would deſtroy for ever the ſources of barbarity on the one hand, and render unneceſſary the practices of iniquity on the other.

SECT. III.

The fifth and ſixth evils, to be traced among the ſeamen, or thoſe employed in the ſlave trade, are, firſt, as has been obſerved, *a loſs* while in the ſervice of their reſpective ſhips, and, ſecondly, *a loſs* after their diſcharge in the colonies.

To elucidate this, I will ſubmit to the reader the three following accounts, taken from three different perſons, who are enabled to ſpeak with preciſion as to both the points.

*ACCOUNT the FIRST.

" In my firſt voyage, in the ———, about 25 ſeamen " were loſt, to the beſt of my knowledge, out of 35; in " my ſecond, about 15 out of 35; and in my third, about " 24 out of about 37. In the ——— 35 were buried " before they came to ———. In the ——— about 15 " or 16 on the Coaſt and in the Middle Paſſage. In the ——— about 5; and in the ——— 4."

* I might have referred here to my Eſſay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade, to eſtabliſh one of the evils to be now proved; but I choſe rather to take the accounts of three perſons, who could ſpeak to both of them in continuance, as having fallen under their own notice.

" I have

" I have ſeen ſeamen in the different Weſt India iſlands, " but particularly in Jamaica, lying on the wharfs and " other places in an ulcerated and helpleſs ſtate. Some " of theſe I had known before, and knew that they were " ſuch as had been diſcharged, or had deſerted from Gui- " neamen on their arrival there. Of others I inquired " how they came into that ſituation, and to what veſſels " they belonged. Their uſual reply was, that they came " out of Guineamen, and that they were unable to get " their pay. — In aſking them how they could think of " leaving their ſhips before they received their wages, they " replied, that they choſe rather to come on ſhore than " to ſtay on board and be uſed in a barbarous manner."

" The above people I have ſeen begging about, and " driven to ſuch diſtreſs, that I have often carried them " proviſions from my own ſhip. I have ſeen them ulce- " rated from the knee-pan to the ancle, and in ſuch a " ſtate, that no ſhip whatever would receive them. I " have ſeen them alſo dying on the wharfs through hunger " and diſeaſe; and inſtances have come before me of " negroes carrying their dead bodies to Spring Path to " be interred."

" From theſe and ſimilar inſtances in Barbadoes alſo, " and the reſt of the Weſt India Iſlands, I am ſtrongly of " opinion, that a very conſiderable number of thoſe ſea- " men, who from cruel treatment are forced to deſert " in the Weſt Indies from the different Guineamen that " arrive there, annually periſh, after having experienced " a ſtate of miſery, which no pen can be equal to the taſk " of deſcribing."

ACCOUNT the SECOND.

" I believe that the ſlave trade deſtroys hundreds of " ſeamen annually. The ——, which was but a " ſmall veſſel, took out about fifteen perſons in all, two " of whom were loſt on the Coaſt, and four on the

" Middle

" Middle Paſſage. In the ———, there were forty on
" board, including all, when ſhe ſailed from home, thirty-
" two of whom were loſt before the voyage was finiſhed:
" add to this, that ſhe was obliged to be manned again
" from other veſſels on the coaſt."

" When the ——— arrived at the port of delivery,
" three ſeamen left her to ſeek redreſs;—but they were
" unable to obtain it. Thus turned adrift, and unable
" to get relief, two of them, one of whom, a North
" countryman, was named Robert Humble, and the other
" George Bennet, died in the ſtreets of the place."

" I have been in all the Weſt India iſlands, but never
" was in any of them when a Guineaman came in, but
" I have ſeen a number of diſtreſſed ſeamen lying about
" the wharfs and quays. Theſe people are generally
" known by the name of Wharfingers.—They are ſuch as
" deſert from Guineamen. They are diſtinguiſhed from
" other ſeamen by their emaciated appearance, and ulce-
" rated ſtate, a ſtate which is occaſioned by bad and un-
" wholeſome proviſions, expoſure to the weather, and ill
" uſage. I am poſitive that many of theſe miſerable
" objects die in the Weſt Indies; for I have found them
" lying dead in empty ſugar-caſks, and ſpeak therefore
" poſitively to the fact. Upon the whole, eſtimating
" thoſe, that are loſt in the courſe of the voyage, and
" thoſe that are loſt after they deſert in the Weſt Indies,
" I cannot conſider the ſlave trade but as the very grave
" of our mariners."

ACCOUNT the THIRD.

" I am of opinion that the ſlave trade is the deſtruction
" of our marine. When the ——— anchored in the
" carenage, Grenada, there were only ſeven white people
" on board her, namely, the ſurgeon, captain, boatſwain,
" cooper, carpenter, cook, and a lad of the name of
" Johnſon, who came from Dumfries. The loſs which

" this

" this veſſel ſuſtained was rendered ſtill greater by the " death of the carpenter in the carenage."

" I am alſo of opinion, that ſeveral ſeamen deſert or " are diſcharged from Guineamen, on their arrival in, or " before they leave, the Weſt Indies, and that ſeveral of " theſe are additionally loſt there. Of thoſe that have " been mentioned to have come in with the ———, I " believe, to the beſt of my recollection, that only the " ſurgeon, and Johnſon, the lad, went home in her.— " With reſpect to the latter aſſertion, I have ſeen Guinea " ſailors begging in Grenada, in a very emaciated and " ulcerated ſtate; in ſuch a ſtate, that I have ſet them " down in my own mind, as likely to be dead in a ſhort " time. On a certain day one of them came to the ſtore-" houſe, belonging to the ſhip ———. He took ſhelter " under the ſhed of the crane, and died there. I aſſiſted " in burying him, and I alſo aſſiſted in burying three other " Guinea ſailors ſo dying, while I lay in the carenage, at " Grenada."

It appears, from the above accounts, that there are two diſtinct loſſes, as they happen in two diſtinct ſituations, among the ſeamen who are employed in the ſlave trade, the one *while in the ſervice of their reſpective ſhips*, the other, *after they have been put adrift in the colonies*. The firſt is often very conſiderable: the latter, though not aſcertained with preciſion, may be ſuppoſed great. That theſe loſſes are evils, ſcarcely any one will deny. For if the ſeamen of Great Britain have raiſed their country to that comparative rank which ſhe holds among other nations at the preſent day, and if they are at this moment conſidered to be the pillars of the State, theſe are certainly evils of the moſt ſerious importance, and with the magnitude of which we cannot be too ſenſibly impreſſed.

On a ſuppoſition then that they are evils, it is highly proper that they ſhould be redreſſed, and that as ſpeedily as they can be. It becomes us therefore to apply again to the

the *Regulating* Bill, that ſome clauſe or clauſes may be found, which may be adequate to their removal.

With reſpect to the firſt evil, or, *the loſs of ſeamen while in the ſervice of their reſpective ſhips*, it will be neceſſary to ſtate the cauſes of it, before a remedy can be ſought for. Theſe cauſes then, to loſe no time in ſtating them, are three, namely, boatwork, inſurrection, and diſeaſe contracted from the diſeaſes of the ſlaves, and theſe three are peculiar to the ſlave trade.

On the ſubject of the firſt cauſe, it may be neceſſary to remark, that the cargo is procured on the *Windward Coaſt*, by means of open boats. Theſe boats are continually beating about and watching the ſignals upon the ſhore. They proceed to the diſtance of twenty or thirty leagues, and are often abſent for three weeks from the ſhip. During this time the ſeamen are expoſed to the inclemency of the weather night and day, which becomes frequently the occaſion of their death.

Some of theſe boats are upſet, and the ſeamen are again loſt. Others go up the rivers, and are abſent for a conſiderable time. The days are exceſſively hot, and the dews are exceſſively cold and heavy. Of thoſe who are ſent upon this ſervice many are conſidered as loſt. Some never return with the boats. Others come on board and die.

This boatwork then, which is ſo prejudicial to the lives of ſeamen, is abſolutely neceſſary on the *Windward Coaſt*, and ſo long as a veſſel is permitted to ſlave there, ſo long will boats be uſed, and ſo long will ſeamen continue to be loſt in the ways deſcribed.

To remove the evil then, the following clauſe may be expected to be found in the *Regulating* Bill.

" And be it enacted from henceforward, that no veſſel " be permitted to ſlave on the Windward Coaſt of " Africa,

" Africa, within the limits hereafter to be aſſigned." *

Now the operation of the above clauſe will be exactly this. By the introduction of it, you not only exclude the merchant from getting ſome of the fineſt ſlaves which the coaſt of Africa ſupplies, and deprive him of other local advantages, but you curtail the limits of the trade. If you curtail the limits of the trade, more muſt ſlave in the ſame ſpace; if more in the ſame ſpace, then the competition muſt become greater, and thus the clauſe, when inforced, by increaſing the price of ſlaves, and conſequently the *expenſes of the trade*, muſt have a direct tendency towards its *abolition*.

With reſpect to the ſecond and third cauſes of the loſs of ſeamen, *while in the ſervice of their reſpective ſhips*, namely, inſurrection, and diſeaſe, contracted from the diſeaſes of the ſlaves, the following clauſes only in the *Regulating* Bill can be conſidered as effectual.

" And be it enacted from henceforward, that the Africans " to be ſhipped in future in Britiſh veſſels, ſhall have no " reſentment or ſpirit of revenge againſt thoſe who carry " them from their country."

" And be it farther enacted, that they be not ſo ſubject " for the future to grief and deſpair, which may prey " upon their minds, and occaſion ſickneſs; or that, if " ſickneſs ſhould ariſe from thence, it be not increaſed to " diſeaſe from animal heat and ſtench, or from ſudden " tranſition from heat to cold, and other (formerly) con- " comitant cauſes, or, if unexpectedly diſeaſes ſhould " make their appearance among them, theſe diſeaſes be " not contagious."

* Slaves are ſometimes brought on board by the natives on the Windward Coaſt; but were a veſſel to ſtay till the whole cargo was ſo brought to them, ſhe muſt lie there thrice the length of time that ſhe does at preſent, and certain expenſes would increaſe at a threefold rate. From this, and a *variety of other conſiderations*, no other clauſe would be effectual.

Now

Now if theſe clauſes can be introduced into any Act of Parliament, and *enforced*, two of the cauſes of the loſs of ſeamen, *while in the ſervice of their reſpective ſhips*, will be cut off: — But if Parliament have not the power of enforcing them, then will they remain, and will remain as before a ſtanding and laſting objection to the exiſtence of the ſlave trade.

We come now to the ſecond evil, or *the loſs among ſuch ſeamen as are put adrift in the colonies, after their arrival there.* But here it will be neceſſary, as before, to ſtate the reaſon of ſuch a loſs, before we can apply to the *Bill of Regulation* for a cure.

Some of the ſlave veſſels, which arrive in the Weſt Indies, have, perhaps, experienced but little mortality in their crews. In this caſe, it is clear that many of them become *ſupernumerary* for the remainder of the voyage.

Others again bring them in ſo *weak and enfeebled a ſtate*, that they are conſidered as *incapable* of bringing the veſſels home.

Theſe circumſtances then occaſion many of them to be diſcharged there, not to mention that every nerve is exerted to bring others, who go on ſhore, under the appellation of deſerters, and to refuſe them admittance on board.—Thus put adrift by various ſtratagems, they are left to ſhift for themſelves. All of the ſupernumerary are not always able to get employ, and ſuch are often obliged to ſtay till diſorders generated in the courſe of the voyage break out, and poverty overtakes them. The ſickly and diſeaſed on the other hand, even if employment is before them, are not admitted, from incapacity to work and the fear of infection, into other ſhips. Surrounded thus by diſeaſe and poverty, many of them die, and hence the loſs *among ſuch ſeamen as are put adrift in the colonies after their arrival there.*

The

The evil then having been now explained, the queſtion is, how ought it to be remedied, and to be remedied in an unobjectionable way. I reply, that in the caſe of the *ſupernumerary* they ought never to be diſcharged at the port of delivery, for the merchant having had their ſervices in the moſt trying part of the voyage, and having had alſo their lives at his ſervice had it been more fatal, the leaſt thing that he ought to do for them is to retain them in pay, and to bring them home. In the caſe of the *ſickly* and *diſeaſed* much ſtronger is their claim upon him, for ſmall indeed would be ſuch a recompence for the ruin of their health and conſtitutions. But I reply again, in the caſe of both, that the merchant ſhould be *compelled by law* to bring them back, for *his contract with them* was not that any of them ſhould leave him, or be diſcharged at the port of delivery, but that they ſhould *go the whole round with his veſſel, and bring her home.* Any obligation therefore upon the merchant to do this, would be only an obligation to *fulfil a contract*, which he made with them before their departure from their native ſhore.

This then being but a reaſonable demand, and never to be diſpenſed with, the following, or a ſimilar clauſe, productive of the intended effect, may be ſuppoſed to be found in the anticipated Bill of Regulation.

" And be it enacted from henceforward, that the Captain " or chief officer of every ſlave veſſel, be fined in an heavy " ſum, hereafter to be named, for every ſailor whom he " leaves behind at the port of delivery, except for ſuch as " ſhall appear, by certificate, under the ſeal of the Go- " vernor, or other officers of the iſlands, to have voluntari- " ly ſollicited, and that without any compulſion or artifice " whatever, his own diſcharge, or to have deſerted, which " deſertion with the repeated cauſes of it, is to be made " appear by the examination of the remaining crew. And " be it farther enacted, that the certificate be of the fol- " lowing form, &c.*"

Here

* Other regulations ought to take place at the ſame time. The clauſe

relative

Here then is a reaſonable clauſe, and a clauſe which ought immediately to be put in force. But mark its operation. If you oblige the merchant to bring home the ſupernumerary, *according to his contract*, you oblige him to find ſupernumerary proviſions and wages, and to *increaſe the expenſes of the voyage*. If you oblige him again to bring home thoſe, whoſe conſtitutions he has *been the means of ruining*, and who are incapable of work, you oblige him to hire an additional number of hands to navigate his veſſel home. But here again the ſickly become ſupernumerary, and ſupernumerary victuals and wages will occaſion a *diminution of the profits of his trade*.

To ſum up the whole. It has appeared that out of the two evils, and thoſe of a ſerious nature, deſcribed in this ſection, as exiſting in the proſecution of the ſlave trade, one of them is totally *incurable*, and that any *regulation therefore muſt be ineffectual:* and with reſpect to the other, it has appeared equally clear that it *can never be applied*; for that the evil muſt either exiſt, or if an attempt be made to remove it, ſuch an *increaſe of expenſe, or diminution of profit* muſt take place, as will tend greatly *to the abolition of the trade*.

The *Bill of Abolition*, on the contrary would, it is evident, at the firſt ſight, cure the evils complained of at once, and would probably remove them for ever: for in no other trade that can be pointed out could two of the cauſes of one of the loſſes ſpecified ever exiſt again; and in no other is it probable that ſuch a number of ſickly and ſupernumerary ſeamen ſhould be found at the ſecond port of deſtination, as to render ſuch infamous practices neceſſary on the one hand, or ſuch a ſecond loſs of them on the other.

relative to deſertion in the "Act for the better regulation of ſeamen in "the merchant ſervice," ſhould be amended, the crews muſtered at the port of delivery, and the like.

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. IV.

Having fully conſidered the firſt and ſecond diviſion of evils ſuſtained by *the objects of the ſlave trade*, as well as by *thoſe who are employed in it*, I come now to the third. This may be ſaid to include *a complication of evils*, inaſmuch as the ſlave trade prevents the introduction *of many ſorts of good*. Theſe evils then, which may be ſaid to exiſt, or theſe different ſorts of good, which may be ſaid to be prevented, either exiſt, or are prevented from exiſting, as we refer them to two places; firſt, *to the Coaſt of Africa*; ſecondly, *to the Britiſh Colonies*.

SECT. I.

The different ſorts of good, which might exiſt in Africa, would ariſe from a trade in its own productions. Theſe productions I have ſpecified in my Eſſay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade. They are not imaginary, but real, for of the exiſtence of all of them living teſtimony can be produced, and of moſt of them ocular demonſtration can be given.

The firſt good that would reſult to us from having certain productions from that quarter, would be, that they would be *ſuperior in quality* to thoſe which are now brought to us from other parts: the ſecond, that they could be had *at a cheaper rate:* the third, that whereas we now pay for many of them in money, we ſhould pay for them in our own *manufactures:* to which is to be added, a very pleaſing circumſtance, that they would not *interfere* with the productions of our *preſent colonies*. —— Theſe then would be ſubſtantial advantages to any people in the way of trade, but others would naturally attend them; for if a commerce were once eſtabliſhed with the natives of Africa in the productions of their own country, civilization would be the conſequence of it, and there would be a *perpetually growing* demand for our manufac-

tures, and a foundation laid for an *increaſing revenue* to the ſtate.

Now, if the productions of the kind and quality alluded to are to be found in Africa, it is evident that *the different ſorts of good*, or the advantages now deſcribed, might exiſt and would reſult to us from that quarter.—This then brings me to the point. Two bills have been ſuppoſed to be brought into parliament, the one for the *Regulation*, and the other for the *Abolition* of the Slave Trade. The queſtion is, how far theſe advantages would lie dormant, or be brought into exiſtence by the paſſing of the one or of the other.

To aſcertain this point it will be neceſſary to inquire into the reaſon why the productions of Africa have been almoſt hitherto untouched, and why they continue in ſuch a ſtate.

It appears, by way of reply, in the ſix accounts given us in the ſecond chapter of the preſent Eſſay, that parties of men, natives of Africa, go out for the purpoſe of ſtealing one another, that they go generally in the night, that they attack and burn villages to get into their poſſeſſion the perſons of the inhabitants, as well as to ſeize upon ſuch as they may meet with at other times; that this is practiſed to ſuch an alarming degree, that many of them dare not ſtir out at night, and that theſe practices are in uſe from the River Senegal to Angola, which are the boundaries of the trade. Now, if this be the caſe, the reaſon immediately appears: for who would go out and provide theſe articles for us, while he is fearful of being intercepted in his way? Who would labour * more than for his own immediate ſupport, if another is likely to enjoy his harveſt, or the overplus of his pains, or perhaps tear him away before he can enjoy it himſelf. Theſe then are

* It may be conſidered as a rule, that in proportion to the good or bad government prevailing upon the Coaſt, or the conſequent ſecurity of the inhabitants or not, and in proportion to the extent of the trade in ſlaves that is carried on in any part of it, cultivation makes a progreſs, or is impeded.

inſuperable

inſuperable impediments, and *the want of ſecurity in the people* is one of the grand cauſes why the productions of Africa are in their preſent ſtate, and why we are excluded from *thoſe different ſorts of good*, which would otherwiſe accrue to us from that quarter.

It appears again, from the ſame accounts, that ſome of thoſe who are torn away from their connexions in the night, and ſent into ſlavery, are ſeized by *their own kings*; that others are ſold for witchcraft; that the accuſers are the *great men* or *kings*, and *the poor* the *ſufferers*. This furniſhes us with another ſolution, for it appears, that it is more to the *temporary* intereſt of the kings to trade in the bodies of their ſubjects, than in the produce of their country; as by means of the one they can gratify their wants *at the moment*, whereas the other can be made the medium of their gratification *but at a certain time*.

This point then being aſcertained, or at leaſt ſufficiently aſcertained for the purpoſe, we may now apply to the two Bills of *Regulation* and *Abolition* reſpectively, to ſee whether the different ſorts of good likely to reſult to us from Africa, would lie dormant, or be produced by the paſſing of the one or of the other.

With reſpect to the *Regulating* Bill, it is evident at the firſt ſight, that it would *deprive us for ever* of the advantages deſcribed. For the *regulation* implies the *continuance* of the trade, and ſo long as the trade continues, ſo long will there be temptations, and ſo long will the needy and avaricious embrace them to obtain the perſons of men, and ſo long as the perſons of men are obtained in that manner, ſo long will that *inſecurity in the people* remain, which has been one of the cauſes of keeping the productions of Africa in their preſent ſtate; nor is it leſs obvious that ſo long as the trade continues, ſo long will the ſecond of theſe cauſes continue alſo, or, in other words, ſo long will it be the *tem orary intereſt* of the kings to deal in the bodies of their ſubjects rather than in the productions of their country.

With

With reſpect to the *Bill of Abolition*, on the other hand, its operation would be this. It would render the nefarious practices ſpecified in the ſecond chapter *unneceſſary*; but if it rendered them unneceſſary, then would *a general ſecurity and confidence* take place among the people. It would alſo render the perſons of men no longer the medium through which the princes of Africa could gratify their wants. But if ſo, they muſt gratify them in another way. But here the productions of the ſoil ſtart up as the medium, and the only medium, in their place. It would become *their intereſt* then, *both temporary and future*, to employ their ſubjects in the cultivation or collection of theſe. But if confidence and ſecurity were eſtabliſhed, and it became the intereſt of the princes to trade in the productions of their country, then would thoſe advantages, or thoſe *different ſorts of good* be brought into exiſtence, which have been before deſcribed.

SECT. II.

Having now conſidered the different ſorts of good that might be derived from Africa, I come to thoſe that might reſult to us from the *Colonies*. Theſe are of two kinds, conſiſting, as before, of advantages to individuals, and of advantages to the ſtate.

To elucidate ſome of theſe advantages,* I ſhall ſtate the following poſitions:

If the lives of the preſent ſlaves were to be prolonged, and care were to be taken of the new generation that are ſpringing up, as well as of every ſucceeding generation

* For the future exiſtence of theſe, and other advantages, the reader is referred to the 1ſt chap. of the 2d part of the Eſſay on the Impolicy of the Slave Trade.

from

from the preſent day, the planter might ſave the money which he now expends in the purchaſe of ſlaves.

If his ſlaves were to do their work better than they do at preſent, and were to do more of it in the ſame time, his income might be increaſed.

If they loved him, he might live in ſecurity, and without any apprehenſion of alarm; and if they were additionally attached to the ſpot on which they lived, and were to live among their relatives and friends, the iſlands might be ſafe and impregnable in the time of war.

Nor is it leſs evident, if the number of labourers in the iſlands were greater, that two effects would immediately be produced; firſt, that more ſugar and rum would be made, and conſequently a greater addition to the revenue; and, ſecondly, that there would be a conſiderable increaſe of demand for the manufactures of this country.

Now theſe different *ſorts of good*, or advantages, ſo ſolid and ſubſtantial in themſelves, are the immediate and natural reſult of the different propoſitions made. This being the caſe, the queſtion is, on what the different circumſtances, which are made the baſis of the propoſitions, depend, and then, whether any circumſtance, on which the others may ſo depend, would be prevented from exiſting, or would be called into exiſtence by the Bills of *Regulation* or *Abolition*.

It may be ſtated in reply, that *good treatment*, conſidered in all its points, is the *grand circumſtance* on which the whole depend. It would prolong the lives of the preſent ſlaves. It would preſerve more of thoſe who are born than are ſaved at preſent. It would of courſe increaſe population. It would operate as a ſtimulus to labour, and it would produce a love and attachment to the proprietor and to the ſpot.

Let

Let us now apply to the *Regulating Bill*, to ſee its influence on the circumſtance deſcribed.

If the ſlave trade is to be *regulated*, it is evidently to *exiſt*. Now, as long as it exiſts, ſo long will there be *adventurers* to the iſlands, who will have but a *temporary* intereſt, and who, depending neceſſarily on *great and immediate* exertions, will *injure the health of their ſlaves*. So long again as the trade exiſts, ſo long will it hold up to the planter the proſpect of an annual ſupply, and encourage him in *ſpeculations*, the enforcement of which will *occaſion miſery to the ſlave, and ſhorten the period of his life*; and ſo long again as it exiſts, ſo long will it continue to furniſh him with people forcibly deprived of the natural rights of men, and oblige him to adopt a ſyſtem of diſcipline of *the moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive kind:* all which effects of the continuance of the ſlave trade will for ever deprive him, as well as the country, of the *different ſorts of good*, or the advantages that have been deſcribed.

The *Bill of Abolition*, on the other hand, would have a contrary effect, for if no more ſlaves were to be had, no ſpeculation or adventure could take place, but the lives of the ſlaves would be prolonged, their population increaſed, and their attachment gained; all which would operate, if referred to individuals, to the increaſe of income and peace of mind of the planter, and of courſe the ſecurity of the annuitant and mortgagee; and, if conſidered in a national point of view, to the ſafety of the iſlands, the increaſe of the revenue of the mother country, and the increaſe of demand for its manufactures.*

* There are ſeveral Eſtates that have ſupported themſelves for years without any ſupplies from Africa. The ſlave trade of courſe may be conſidered to *be aboliſhed with reſpect to them:* now, on all ſuch eſtates, all the conſequences here laid down are to be found.

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V.

I have now conſidered, according to my deſign, the *three diviſions* of the evils, that exiſt in conſequence of the proſecution of the ſlave trade, and I have applied to them the two bills of *Regulation* and *Abolition* reſpectively as a cure. The conſequences of ſuch an application have been made appear, but as theſe conſequences are ſcattered in different parts of the work, it remains to bring them together, in order that they may be ſeen more clearly, and a better idea may be had of the force of them in an united ſtate.

To begin. It has appeared that ſome of the *Regulations*, neceſſary to remove the evils complained of in the ſlave trade, are of two kinds, ſome of them having a tendency to *increaſe the expenſes*, and others to *diminiſh the profits* of the trade.

With reſpect to thoſe of the firſt kind, it was thought proper that the following ſhould be made: firſt, that the *ſeamen ſhould be fed as in other trades*, with the addition of *wine or ſpirits* to be given them in certain ſituations upon the coaſt. Secondly, that *the wages* of thoſe who die ſhould be paid to their executors, and of thoſe who ſurvive to themſelves, in *ſterling money*. Thirdly, that the *ſick and ſupernumerary ſhould be brought home*. Now, if theſe regulations, all of which are but neceſſary and juſt, were to be put in force, it appears, upon a fair eſtimate, that they would add to the expenſes of every veſſel on an average, that ſails for ſlaves, not leſs than * four hundred pounds.

With reſpect to thoſe of the ſecond kind, the following were deemed neceſſary to be made. Firſt, that no veſſel ſhould have on board at any one time more than in *the proportion of one ſlave to every one ton and an half*, to be reckoned according to the regiſter of the ſaid veſſel. Secondly, that *one-tenth of the range of the lower deck*

* See page 77.

ſhould

ſhould be appropriated to *the ſeamen*. Now, if theſe regulations were to take place, there would only be allotted to a veſſel of *one hundred tons* about *ſixty* ſlaves. But by the confeſſion of the Liverpool Delegates, if the trade were to be ſo reſtricted, that a veſſel of *one hundred tons* were allowed to carry only *an hundred* ſlaves, there would be a certain loſs to the merchant of * *five hundred and ninety pounds*. What then would be his loſs were he to be reſtricted in the former ratio?

Now, if we add the conſequences *of both the kinds of regulation* together, if we add the *increaſe of expenſe* on the one hand to the *loſs* or *diminution of profit* on the other, the ſlave trade muſt inevitably fall, inaſmuch as there would be an incumbrance to the amount of *one thouſand* pounds on every veſſel that was to ſail for ſlaves.

But what regulations are theſe, that would bring ſuch an incumbrance on the trade, and that would thus occaſion it to fall?—They are ſuch as *juſtice demands*: they are ſuch as are *abſolutely neceſſary*. For the ſlave it is ſollicited, that he may be conveniently tranſported, and his life preſerved:—for the ſeamen, that they may only be treated as in other trades. What a dreadful commerce then is this, which we are now conſidering, that it cannot be regulated *conſiſtently with the views of* Humanity, but it *muſt* be *aboliſhed*; that it cannot be put upon *the ſame eſtabliſhment* as other trades, but it *muſt fall?*——And are theſe evils to continue, becauſe the ſlave merchant will be a loſer by his voyage? Periſh the thought! It becomes us, *at leaſt*, to regulate, and after we have regulated, to ſay to him, "We have taken care of the ſlave, becauſe he is an human being, of the like feelings with yourſelf, and juſtice and humanity demand it. We have taken care of the ſeamen for the ſame reaſon, and becauſe they are the pillars of the State. We now conſign the trade into your hands, in its preſent regulated form. If you cannot carry it on upon the terms on which we give it you, it ought to fall."

* See Minutes of the Evidence, &c. p. 21.

Upon

Upon the whole. It has been now reduced to an actual demonſtration, that any *Bill of Regulation whatever*, which is intended to be *effectual*, can never heal that claſs of the *evils* which are ſuſtained by the *ſlaves* in their tranſportation, and by the ſeamen in their *lodging*, *diet*, and *pay*. For if the trade is to be *regulated*, it is to *exiſt*. But if it is to exiſt, it muſt have a *profit*, and the regulations, *neceſſary to be made*, will admit of *none*.

Such then is the peculiar ſituation of this deteſtable trade. But let us allow for a moment that the before-mentioned claſs of evils could be removed, and that the trade could be carried on with advantage. But what then? Are there no other evils to be remedied? What clauſe is to be applied to cure the treatment of ſeamen, as ſpringing out of *the very nature* of the trade? What clauſe is to remove the loſs of them, as ariſing from *inſurrection*, and *diſeaſe* contracted from the *diſeaſes* of the ſlaves? And, above all, how is the *mode* of obtaining the perſons of the Africans for the purpoſes of ſale to be remedied?

Here again it is evident, that no *Regulating Bill* whatever can be effectual; for this ſecond branch of the evil, is totally *incurable*, and muſt continue with all its objections as long as the ſlave trade is ſuffered to exiſt. But of what nature is the laſt-mentioned evil in the ſecond branch, which it is ſaid *muſt continue, and is incurable?* It is, as I have obſerved in a former place, the *parent* and *foundation* of the reſt. It is *that evil* which firſt awakened the many benevolent oppoſers of the ſlave trade. It is an evil of *ſuch magnitude*, that, *could the former claſs be totally removed*, it would prove alone ſufficient to arreſt the attention of all good men, and to give a ſpur to thoſe, whom it has already rouſed into action, to continue their exertions with zeal and perſeverance, till they ſhould accompliſh their deſign.

But after all, let us go ſtill farther. Let us even ſuppoſe that both the firſt and ſecond claſs of evils could be effectually

effectually removed, we ſhould ſtill object to the exiſtence of the ſlave trade, and we ſhould object to it as *politicians*. We ſhould ſay that there were new and inexhauſtible ſources of *revenue* both in *Africa* and *the Colonies*, new ſources of marine, new ſources of demand for our *manufactures*. But how are theſe new ſources to be opened? Not by *any regulating bill whatſoever*. For *regulation* implies the *continuance* of the trade, and ſo long as the trade *continues*, ſo long will there be an *inſecurity* of the people, and a *certain temporary intereſt* among the princes of *Africa*, and, as to the *Colonies*, ſo long will a *ſpirit of adventure* and *ſpeculation* exiſt, and ſo long will there be an introduction of people *robbed of the natural rights of man*; all which circumſtances will continue to cooperate to the excluſion both of individuals and the nation from the ſeveral advantages that have been pointed out.

Upon the whole. It appears, that any *regulating bill*, even of the wiſeſt kind, could never remove the evils of the firſt claſs, inaſmuch as it could *never be applied:* that with reſpect to thoſe of the ſecond, among which is the parent and foundation of the reſt, it could never *operate at all*; that, thus inapplicable on the one hand, and inefficient on the other, it would be a *political evil*, inaſmuch as it would prevent a variety of good, both to individuals and the State: in ſhort, that a *Bill of Abolition only could be effectual*, which would come in like a *ſaving arm*, which would *deſtroy* the many-headed monſter at once, and which, while it would improve the *ſyſtem of morals* both in Africa and at home, and the *manners of both countries*, would be productive of great *political good*.

ESTIMATE

ESTIMATE

Alluded to in Page 73.

TABLE I.

IT has been ſtated to be the practice in the Slave Trade to pay the wages of ſuch ſeamen as die in the voyage in the currency of the iſland where the veſſel ſells her ſlaves, and to oblige ſuch as arrive there to take half the wages for the whole time employed in currency alſo. One of the regulations therefore was, that "the ſeamen "in the ſlave trade, or their executors, ſhould be paid "in ſterling."

To ſee how the regulation would operate, let us ſuppoſe, firſt, that an African voyage (for ſo it appears by the muſter-rolls) is on an average twelve months. In this caſe the voyage to the Coaſt will be two months, the ſtay there will be four, the length of the Middle Paſſage two, the ſtay in the Weſt Indies two, and the voyage from the Weſt Indies to England two more.

Secondly, as ſome number muſt be aſſumed, let us ſuppoſe that 5000 people, including officers and ſeamen, are employed at * fifty ſhillings per month each. In this caſe 1000 at leaſt will be dead before the voyage is completed, namely, about 30 (according to the muſter-rolls) at the end of the firſt two months; 330 at the end of the next two; 280 at the end of the two next; 250 at the end of the two next; 55 at the end of the two next; and 55 before the two next are completed, or the voyage is finiſhed.

* This is the calculation of the Liverpool Delegates. See Minutes of Evidence, &c.

Now

Now, to apply the regulation to the wages of the ſeamen, as they paſs the different ſtages of mortality, till they receive their half-pay in the Colonies, the following effect (if * £.157 be the medium currency) will be produced:

1ſt. On the wages of 30, dead at the end of the firſt two months (ſince they have had their advance-money of two months, and the merchants have had their ſervices in return) there will be gained or loſt - } £. ——

2d. On the wages of 330 dead at the end of four months (two months advance being deducted) the merchants will gain - } £. 600

3d. On the wages of 280 dead at the end of ſix months, they will gain (two months advance-money deducted) - - - - } £. 1017

4th. On the wages of 250 dead at the end of eight months, they will gain (two months advance-money deducted) - - - - } £. 1362

5th. On the † half-pay of 4110 arriving in the Colonies, they will gain - - - } £.14922

That is, If they are obliged to pay their ſeamen as in other trades, they will be taxed with an additional expenſe of } £.17901

* Jamaica currency is 140*l.* for 100*l.* ſterling and that of the other iſlands about 175—hence the medium 157.

† The two months advance in this caſe is turned into currency, and is not to be deducted as before.

TABLE II.

TABLE II.

It has appeared in the courſe of the work, that the ſeamen in the ſlave trade are very ſparingly fed; that to each man, on an average ¾ lb. of beef or pork (moſtly damaged) is given per day, and 4lb. of bread per week: —another regulation therefore was that "the ſeamen in the ſlave trade "ſhould be fed as in other trades."

To ſee how this regulation would operate, we muſt firſt ſtate the coſt to the merchant of victualling a ſeaman in the ſlave trade, and of victualling him in another trade.— Let us then give every advantage to the former, let us ſay that he has 1 lb. of the *beſt* Iriſh pork or beef, and 1 lb. of the *beſt* biſcuit per day. The coſt of both will be 4½. Let us call it 5d. and it will be an allowance never, I believe, experienced in the ſlave trade.

Now the coſt of victualling a ſeaman in other trades is 10d per day, or double, ſo that if we reckon 5d on every perſon of the aſſumed number, it will either ſhew the ſaving made by the ſlave merchants, or the tax that would be raiſed upon them, were the regulation to take place.

1ſt. On proviſions for 4970 perſons alive at the end of the two firſt months, they muſt have gained - - - - - - - - - -	£. 6210
2d. On ditto for 4640, alive at the end of the two next, - - - - - - - - - -	£. 5800
3d. On ditto for 4360, alive at the end of the two next, - - - - - - - - - -	£. 5450
4th. On ditto for 4110, alive at the end of the two next, - - - - - - - - - -	£. 5140
So that they would be taxed, in conſequence of the ſecond reſolution, to the amount of	£. 22600

TABLE III.

It has been ſtated, that in conſequence of wooding and watering, and the peculiar ſituation in which the ſeamen of the ſlave trade ſtand, a third regulation ſhould take place, namely, " that they ſhould be allowed a certain " portion of wine, while they are doing their duty upon " the coaſt."

Let each man then be allowed one pint of *Teneriffe wine per day for two months, and this regulation throws an additional tax upon the merchants of - - - £. 3540

TABLE IV.

We have now followed them to the Colonies, and we have regulated their pay and proviſions till their arrival there: but here it has been ſtated that ſeveral are immediately put adrift; another regulation therefore was, " that neither the *ſick* nor the *ſupernumerary* ſhould be " diſcharged."

Now if 5000 be the aſſumed number, about 1400 would be put adrift on their arrival in the Colonies. But theſe are to be retained in conſequence of the laſt regulation. But if ſo, their proviſions at the rate of 10d. per day, and their pay at the rate of *28s. per month for two months, or during the veſſel's ſtay in the Colonies, would be an additional tax upon the merchants of - - - - - £. 7420

* Teneriffe wine is the cheapeſt, moſt convenient to be had, and the beſt, by experiment in the king's ſervice, for thoſe employed in an African voyage. It might be had at 6 *l.* per hogſhead. 4970 perſons for two months would demand 590 hogſheads at the rate mentioned.

† Thoſe put adrift are not officers: their pay therefore may be averaged at twenty-eight ſhillings per month.

TABLE V.

Let us now follow them home.—On a ſuppoſition that 1400 would be put adrift, if 5000 were aſſumed as the number employed, about 600 would be taken in their places on the departure of the veſſels from the Iſlands, that is, 800 leſs would be taken home than would be put adrift. But by the laſt regulation, "neither the ſick nor the ſupernumerary are to "be diſcharged," and therefore 800 more would be neceſſarily taken home in conſequence of it, than were accuſtomed to be taken before. The pay then of theſe extra 800, and their proviſions for two months, or during their paſſage home, upon the former terms, would lay an additional tax on the merchants of - - - - - - - - - - £. 4240

Thus, without reckoning *a variety of other expenſes*, which might be reckoned, and which would certainly reſult from the above regulations, the merchants would be taxed

By Table I. with an additional expenſe of	£. 17901
By Table II. - - - - - - - - - - -	22600
By Table III. - - - - - - - - - - -	3540
By Table IV. - - - - - - - - - - -	7420
By Table V. - - - - - - - - - - -	4240
That is in all with - - - - - - -	£. 55701

Now divide the laſt ſum by 140, the number of veſſels that would certainly demand the aſſumed number 5000, and there would be a tax on every veſſel of - - - - - £. 398

There cannot be a greater proof that the ſlave trade is a loſing trade than the above ſtatements, for if it be a gaining trade, why is £. 55,701 to be ſqueezed out of the bellies and pay of the ſeamen, that the merchants may go cheaper to market by £. 398 on each veſſel, than the merchants of any other claſs?

FINIS.